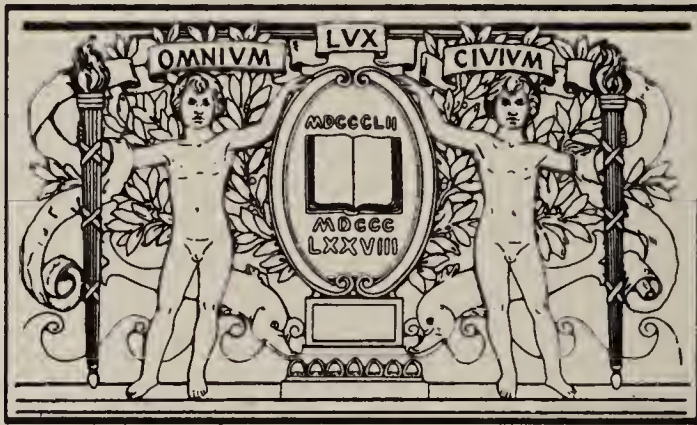


JOHN SMITH
A MAP OF VIRGINIA
OXFORD 1612



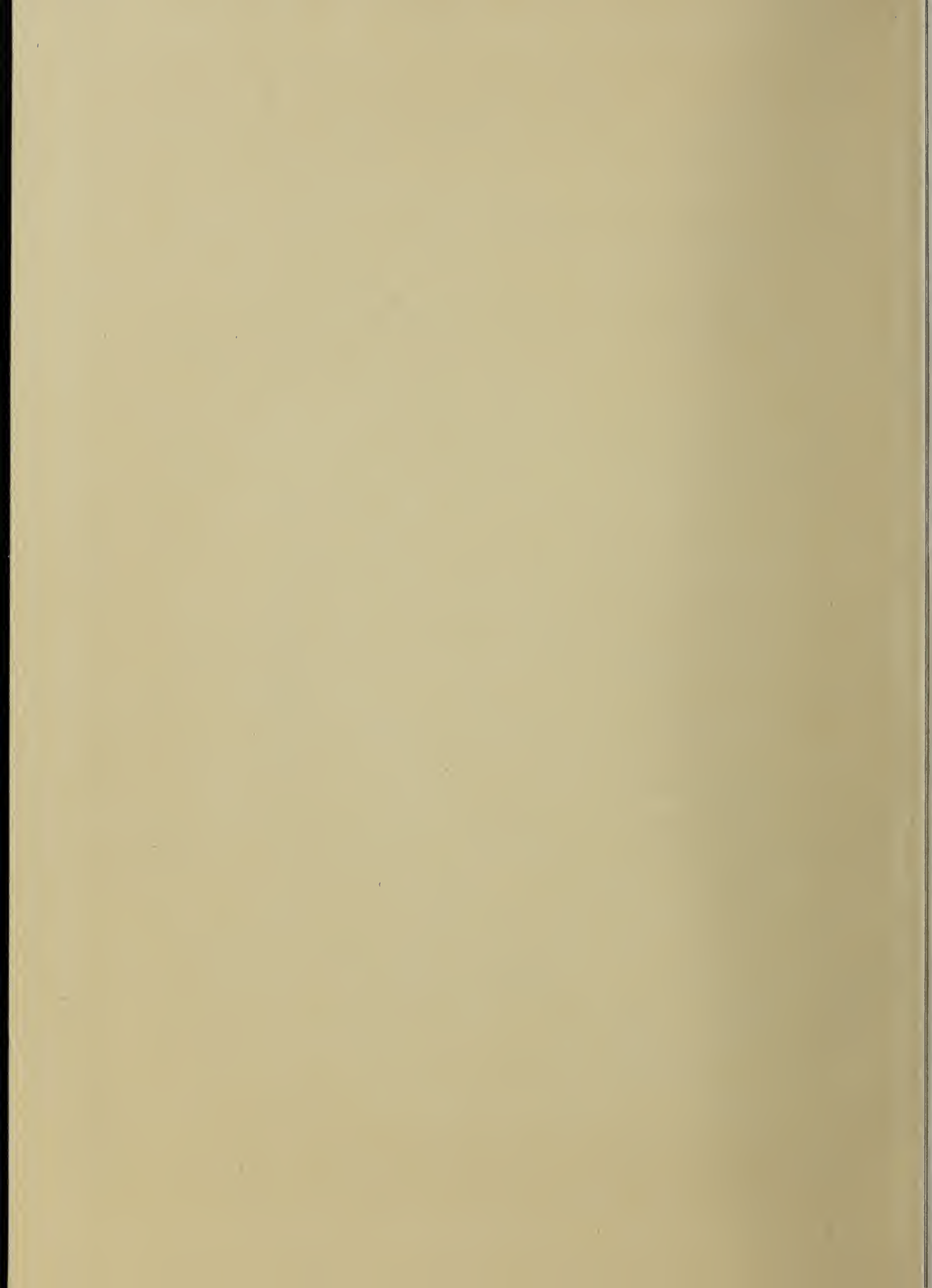
1750
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S.T.C.No. 22791

Collation: []¹, *⁴, A-E⁴; A-O⁴, P² + fold. map

Published in 1973 by

Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd.,
O.Z. Voorburgwal 85, Amsterdam

&

Da Capo Press Inc.
- a subsidiary of Plenum Publishing Corporation -
277 West 17th Street, New York N.Y. 1011

Printed in the Netherlands

ISBN 90 221 0557 1

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number
72-6031

A MAP OF VIRGINIA.

**VVITH A DESCRIPTION
ON OF THE COVNTREY, THE
Commodities, People, Govern-
ment and Religion.**

*Written by Captaine SMITH, sometimes Go-
vernour of the Countrey.*

**WHEREVNTO IS ANNEXED THE
proceedings of those Colonies, since their first
departure from England, with the discourses,
Orations, and relations of the Salvages,
and the accidents that befell
them in all their Iournies
and discoveries.**

*TAKEN FAITHFULLY AS THEY
were written out of the writings of*

DOCTOR RUSSELL.
THO. STVDLEY.
ANAS TODKILL.
IEFFRA ABOT.

RICHARD WIEFIN.
WILL. PHETTIPLACE.
NATHANIEL POWELL.
RICHARD POTS.

And the relations of divers other diligent observers there
present then, and now many of them in England.

By VV. S.



AT OXFORD,
Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612.

F 229

.269

1612 a

T O

THE RIGHT WOR-
SHIPFULL THOMAS WATSON,
AND JOHN BINGLEY, ESQVIERS:
P. F. Wisbeth all Health and
Happinesse.



S there is nothing more pretious in Man then vertue, so there is nothing worse then hatefull ingratitude. Though it be farre beyond my power, to requite, or deserue, the least of your fauours, yet would I not neglect the opportunitie, to expresse my thankefulnesse. Being thus constrained both by dutie and affection, I hope you will pardon me for presenting your Worships with this little Booke; howbeit, it is not mine by Birth, yet it is by Gift, and purchase from the Presse. I esteeme of it as the best gift I can giue, and I cannot giue it to any, to mee more deare then your selues, and worthie Progenie, Friends, and Well-willers to this noble action, for whose recreation, and true satisfaction, I haue occasioned the Impression, which if it giue you content, my charge and paines is highly recompenced. So dedicating my best abilities to the exquisite iudgement of your right worthie vertues;

I euer rest

your Worships true and
faithfull seruant.

PHILIP FOTE.

TO THE HAND.



East I should wrong any in dedicating this Booke to one: I haue concluded it shal be particular to none. I found it only dedicated to a Hand, and to that hand I addresse it. Now for that this businesse is common to the world, this booke may best satisfie the world, because it was penned in the Land it treateth of. If it bee disliked of men, then I would recommend it to women, for being dearely bought, and farre sought, it should be good for Ladies. When all men reiected Christopher Collumbus: that ever renowned Queene Izabell of Spaine, could pawne her Iewels to supply his wants; whom all the wise men (as they thought themselves) of that age contemned. I need not say what was his worthinesse, her noblenesse, and their ignorance, that so scornefully did spit at his wants, seeing the whole world is enriched with his golden fortunes. Cannot this successfull example moue the incredulous of this time, to consider, to conceaue, & apprehend Virginia, which might be, or breed vs a second India? hath not England an Izabell, as well as Spaine, nor yet a Collumbus as well as Genua? yes surely it hath, whose desires are no lesse then was worthy Collumbus, their certainties more, their experiences no way wanting, only there wants but an Izabell, so it were not from Spaine.

T. A.

Because many doe desire to knowe the maner of their
language, I haue inserted these few words.

*Ka ka torawinc*s yowo. What call you this.
Nemarough. a man.
Crenepo. a woman.
Marowanchesso. a boy.
Yehawkans. Houses.
Matchcores. Skins, or garments.
Mockasins. Shooes.
Tusfan. Beds.
Fokatawer. Fire.
Attamp. A bowe.
Attonce. Arrowes.
Monacookes. Swords.
Aumoughhowgh. A Target.
Pawcussacks. Gunnes.
Tomahacks. Axes.
Tockahacks. Pickaxes.
Pamesacks. Kniues.
Accomprets. Sheares.
Pawpecones. Pipes.
Mattassin. Copper.
Vssawassin. Iron, Brasse, Silver, or any white mettal.
Musses Woods.
Attasskuff Leaues, weeds, or grasse.
Chepsin. Land.
Shacquohocan. A stone.
wepenter, a cookold.
Suckahanna. Water.
Noughmass. Fish.

Copotone. Sturgion.
Weghschaughes. Flesh.
Sawwehone. Bloud.
Netoppew. Friends.
Marrapough. Enimies.
Maskapow. The worst of the enimies.
Mawchick chammay. The best of friends.
Casacunnakack, peya quagh acquaintan vttasantasough.
 In how many daies will there come hether any more
 English ships?

Their numbers.

Necut. 1.

Ningh. 2

Nuss. 3.

Towgh. 4.

Paranske. 5.

Comotinch. 6.

Toppawoss. 7.

Nusswash. 8.

Kekatawgh. 9.

Kaskeke.

They count no more but by tennes as followeth.

Case, how many.

Ninghsapooeksku. 20.

Nussapooeksku. 30.

Towghapooeksku. 40.

Parankestassapooeksku. 50.

Comatinchtaßapooeksku. 60.

Nusswashtaßapooeksku. 80.

Toppawoußtaßapooeksku. 70

Kekataughtaßapooeksku. 90.

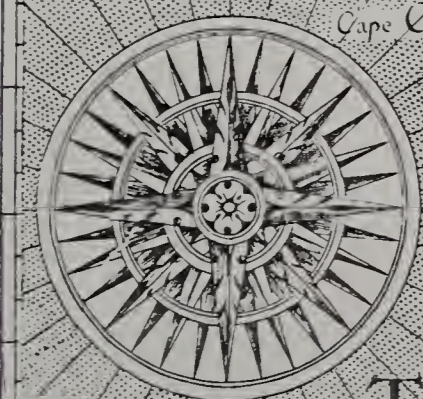
Necuttoughtysinough. 100.
Necutt wevnguaough. 1000.
Rawcosowghs. Daies.
Keskowghes. Sunnes.
Toppquough. Nights.
Nepawweshowghs. Moones,
Pawpaxfoughes. Yeares.
Pummahumps Starres.
Ofies. Heavens.
Okes. Gods.
Quiyoughcosucks. Pettie Gods, and their affinities.
Righcomoughes. Deaths.
Kekughes. Liues.
Mowchick woyawgh tawgh noeragh kaquere mecher.
 I am verie hungrie? what shall I eate?
Tawnor nehiegh Powhatan. where dwels Powwahtan.
Mache, nehiegh yowrowgh, orapaks. Now he dwels a
great way hence at orapaks.
Vttapitchewayne anpechitchs nehawper werowacomoco.
 You lie, he staide ever at werowocomoco.
Kator nehiegh mattagh neer vttapitchewayne. Truely he
is there I doe not lie.
Spaughtynere keragh werowance mawmarinough kekaten
wawgh peyaquaugh. Run you then to the king mawma-
r ynough and bid him come hither.
Vtteke, e peya weyack wighwhip. Get you gone, and come
again quickly.
Kekaten pokahontas patiaquagh niugh tanks manotyens
neer mowchick rawrenock audowgh. Bid Pokahontas
 bring hither two little Baskets, & I wil giue her white
 beads to make her a chaine.

FINIS.

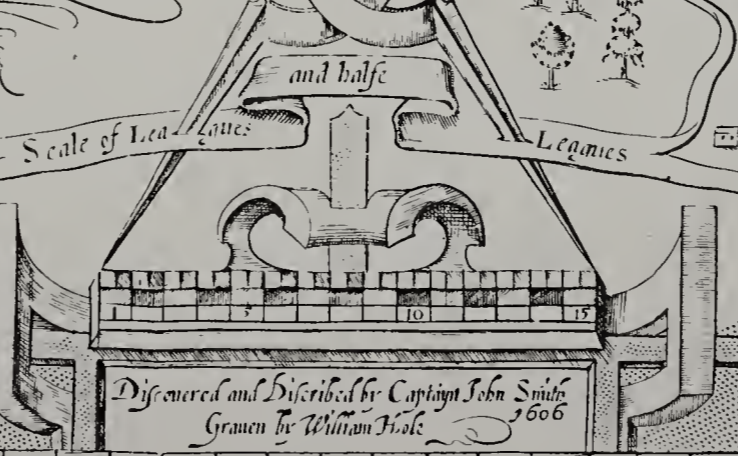


POWATAN
 Held this state & fashion when Capt. Smith
 was delivered to him prisoner
 1607

Max
 GOAGS
CH
 WONS



THE VIRGINIAN SEA



Signification of these marks.
 To the crosses bath bin discovered
 what beyond is by relation
 Kings houses 2
 Ordinary houses 2

The Sasquahans
 are a Great like people &
 thus a



7

THE DESCRIPTION OF
 VIRGINIA BY CAP-
 TAIN SMITH.



VIRGINIA is a Country in *America* that lyeth betweene the degrees of 34 and 44 of the north latitude. *The latitude.* The bounds thereof on the East side are the great *Ocean*. On the South lyeth *Florida*: on the North *nova Francia*. As for the West thereof, the limits are vnknowne. Of all this country wee purpose not to speake,

but only of that part which was planted by the English men in the yeare of our Lord, 1606. *And this is under the degrees 37.38.and 39.* The temperature of this countrie doth agree well with English constitutions being once seasoned to the country. Which appeared by this, that though by many occasions our people fell sicke; yet did they recover by very small meanes & continued in health, though there were other great causes, not only to haue made them sicke, but even to end their daies, &c.

The sommer is hot as in *Spaine*; the winter colde as in *The temperature.* *Fraunce* or *England*. The heat of sommer is in Iune, Iulie, and August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemencie of the heat. The chiefe of winter is halfe December, January, February, and halfe March. The colde is extreame sharpe, but here the proverbe is true that *no extreame long continueth.*

In the yeare 1607. was an extraordinary frost in most of *Europe*, and this frost was founde as extreame in *Virginia*. But the next yeare for 8. or 10. daies of ill weather, other 14 daies would be as Sommer.

The windes here are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purifie the aire, I haue seldome either scene or *The windes.*
 A heard

heard in *Europe*. From the Southwest came the greatest gustes with thunder and heat. The Northwest winde is commonly coole and bringeth faire weather with it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the East and South-East as from the *Barmadas*, fogs and raines.

Some times there are great droughts other times much raine, yet great necessity of neither, by reason we see not but that all the variety of needfull fruits in *Europe* may be there in great plenty by the industry of men, as appeareth by those we there planted.

The entrances. There is but one entraunce by sea into this country and that is at the mouth of a very goodly Bay the widenesse whereof is neare 18. or 20. miles. The cape on the South-side is called *Cape Henry* in honour of our most noble Prince. The shew of the land there is a white hilly sand like vnto the Downes, and along the shores great plentie of Pines and Firres.

Cape Charles. The north *Cape* is called *Cape Charles* in honour of the worthy Duke of *Yorke*. Within is a country that may haue the prerogatiue over the most pleasant places of *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*, for large and pleasant navigable rivers, heaven & earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation being of our constitutions, were it fully manured and inhabited by industrious people. here are mountaines, hills, plaines, valleyes, rivers and brookes, all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay compassed but for the mouth with fruitfull and delightfome land. In the Bay and rivers are many Isles both great and small, some woody, some plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This Bay lieth North and South in which the water floweth neare 200 miles & hath a channell for 140 miles, of depth betwixt 7 and 15 fadome, holding in breadth for the most part 10 or 14 miles. Fro the head of the Bay at the north, the land is mountanous, & so in a manner from thence by a Southwest line; So that the more Southward, the farther off from the Bay are those mounetaines. From which fall

certaine brookes which after come to five principall navigable rivers. These run from the Northwest into the South east, and so into the west side of the Bay, where the fall of every River is within 20 or 15 miles one of an other.

The mountaines are of diverse natures for at the head of *The mountaines.* the Bay the rockes are of a composition like milnstones. Some of marble, &c. And many peeces of christall we found as throwne downe by water from the mountaines. For in winter these mountaines are covered with much snow, & when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in the narrow valleyes which yet is scarce perceived being once in the rivers. These waters wash from the rocks such glistering tinctures that the ground in some places seemeth as gilded, where both the rocks and the earth are so splendent to behold, *that better judgements then ours might haue beene perswaded, they contained more then probabilities.* The vesture of the earth in most places doeth manifestly proue the nature of the soile to be lusty and very rich. The coulor of the earth we found *The soile,* in diverse places, resembleth *bole Armoniac, terra sigillata ad lemnia,* Fullers earth marle and divers other such appearances. But generally for the most part the earth is a black sandy mould, in some places a fat slimy clay, in other places a very barren gravell. But the best ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnesse of trees or abundance of weedes, &c.

The country is not mountanous nor yet low but such *The valleyes.* pleasant plaine hills & fertile valleyes, one prettily crossing an other, and watered so conveniently with their sweete brookes and christall springs, as if art it selfe had devised them. By the rivers are many plaine marishes containing *Plaines.* some 20 some 100 some 200 Acres, some more, some lesse. Other plaines there are fewe, but only where the *Savages* inhabit: but all overgrowne with trees and weedes being a plaine wildernes as God first made it.

On the west side of the Bay, wee said were 5. faire and

delightfull *navigable* rivers, of which wee will nowe proceed to report. The first of those rivers and the next to the mouth of the Bay hath his course from the West and by North. The name of this river they call *Powhatan* according to the name of a principall country that lieth vpon it. The mouth of this river is neere three miles in breadth, yet doe the shoules force the Channell so neere the land that a *Sacre* will overshoot it at point blanck. This river is *navigable* 100 miles, the shoules and soundings are here needlesse to be expressed. It falleth from Rockes farre west in a country inhabited by a nation that they call *Monacan*. But where it commeth into our discoverie it is *Powhatan*. In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are falles, rockes, showles, &c. which makes it past navigation *any higher*. Thence in the running downeward, the river is enriched with many goodly brookes, which are maintained by an infinit number of smal rundles and pleasant springs that disperse themselues for best service, as doe the vaines of a mans body. From the South there fals into this river. First the pleasant river of *Apamatuck*. next more to the East are the two rivers of *Quiyoughcohanocke*. A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 prettie brookes & creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of *Warraskoyac* then the river of *Nandsamund*, and lastly the brooke of *Chisapeack*. From the North side is the river of *Chickahamania*, the backe river of *James Towne*; another by the *Cedar Isle*, where we lived 10 weekes vpon oysters, then a convenient harbour for fisher boats or smal boats at *Kecoughtan*, that so conveniently turneth it selfe into *Bayes* and *Creeks* that make that place very pleasant to inhabit, their cornefields being girded therein in a manner as *Peninsulaes*. The most of these rivers are inhabited by severall nations, or rather families Of the name of the rivers. They haue also in every of those places some *Gouernour*, as their king, which they call *Werowances*. In a *Peninsula* on the North side of this river are the English planted in a place by the called *James Towne*

The river Pow.
hatan.

The branches.

James Towne.

Towne

Towne, in honour of the Kings most excellent Maiestie, vpon which side are also many places vnder the *Werowances*.

The first and next the rivers mouth are the *Kecoughtans*, The severall inhabitants. who besides their women and children, haue not past 20. fighting men. The *Paspaheghes* on whose land is seated the English Colony, some 40. miles from the Bay haue not past 40. The river called *Chickahamania* neere 200. The *Weanocks* 100. The *Arrowhatocks* 30. The place called *Powhatan*, some 40. On the South side this river the *Appamatucks* haue 60 fighting men. The *Quiyougcohanocks*, 25. The *Warraskoyacks* 40. The *Nandsamunds* 200. The *Chesapeacks* are able to make 100. Of this last place the Bay beareth the name. In all these places is a severall commander, which they call *Weromance*, except the *Chickhamanians*, who are governed by the Priestes and their Assistants of their Elders called *Caw-cawwassonghes*. In some no place affordeth more plentie of *Sturgeon*, nor in winter more abundance of fowle, especially in the time of frost. There was once taken 52 *Sturgeons* at a draught, at another draught 68. From the later end of May till the end of June are taken few, but yong *Sturgeons* of 2 foot or a yard long. From thence till the midst of September, them of 2 or three yards long and fewe others. And in 4 or 5 houres with one nette were ordinarily taken 7 or 8: often more, seldome lesse. In the small rivers all the yeare there is good plentie of small fish, so that with hookes those that would take paines had sufficient.

Foureteene miles Northward from the river *Powhatan*, R. Pamavunke. is the river *Pamavunke*, which is navigable 60 or 70 myles, but with *Catches* and *small Barkes* 30 or 40 myles farther. At the ordinary flowing of the salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches. On the South side inhabit the people of *Youghtanund*, who haue about 60 mē for The inhabitants warres. On the North branch *Mattapament*, who haue 30 men. Where this river is divided the Country is called *Pa-*

mavuke, and nourisheth neere 300 able men. About 25 miles lower on the North side of this river is *Werawocomoco*, where their great King inhabited when Captain *Smith* was deliuered him prisoner; yet there are not past 40 able men. But now he hath abandoned that, and liueth at *Orapakes* by *Toughtanund* in the wildernesse; 10 or 12 myles lower; on the South side of this river is *Chiskiack*, which hath some 40 or 50 men. These, as also *Apamatuck*, *Irrohatock*, and *Powhatan*, are their great kings chiefe alliance and inhabitance. The rest (as they report) his Conquests.

Payankatank, R. Before we come to the third river that falleth from the mountaine s, there is another river (some 30 myles navigable) that commeth from the Inland, the river is called *Payankatanke*, the Inhabitants are about some 40 serviceable men.

Toppahanock, R. The third navigable riuer is called *Toppahanock*. (This is navigable some 130 myles) At the top of it inhabit the people called *Mannahoackes* amongst the mountaines, but they are aboue the place we describe. Vpon this river on the North side are seated a people called *Cuttatawomen*, with 30 fighting men. Higher on the riuer are the *Moraughtacunds*, with 80 able men. Beyond them *Toppahanock* with 100 men. Far aboue is another *Cuttatawomen* with 20 men. On the South, far within the river is *Nautoughtacund* hauing 150 men. This river also as the two former, is replenished with fish and foule.

Patawomek, R. The fourth river is called *Patawomeke* & is 6 or 7 miles in breadth. It is navigable 140 miles, & fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hils. These hils many of them are planted, and yeelde no lesse plenty and variety of fruit then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish. This river is inhabited on both sides. Firsi on the South side at the very entrance is *Wighcocomoco* & hath some 130 men, beyond them *Sekacawone* with 30. The *Onawmanient* with 100. Then *Patawomeke* with 160 able men. Here doth the river divide it selfe in

The inhabitants

to 3 or 4 convenient rivers; The greatest of the least is called *Quiyough* treadeth north west, but the river it selfe turneth *North east* and is stil a navigable streame On the westerne side of this bought is *Tauxenent* with 40 men. On the north of this river is *Secowocomoco* with 40 men. Some what further *Potapaco* with 20. In the East part of the bought of the river, is *Pamacacack* with 60 mē. After *Moyowances* with 100. And lastly *Nacotchtanke* with 80 able men. The river 10 miles aboue this place maketh his passage downe a low pleasant vally overshadowed in manie places with high rocky mountaines; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs,

The fifth river is called *Pawtuxunt*, and is of a lesse proportion then the rest; but the channell is 16 or 18 fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinit skuls of divers kinds of fish more then elsewhere. Vpon this river dwell the people called *Acquintanacksuak*, *Pawtuxunt* and *Mattapanient*. 200 men was the greatest strength that could bee there perceived. But they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of al other were found the most civill to giue intertainment.

Thirty leagues Northward is a river not inhabited, yet navigable; for the red earth or clay resembling *bole Armonick* the English called it *Bolus*. At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 miles in breadth, there fall into it 4 small rivers, 3 of them issuing from diverse bogges invironed with high mountaines. There is one that commeth *du* north 3 or 4 daies iourney frō the head of the Bay and fals from rocks & mountaines, vpon this riuer inhabit a people called *Sasquesahanock*. They are seated 2 daies higher then was passage for the discoverers Barge, which was hardly 2 toons, and had in it but 12 men to perform this discouery, wherein they lay aboue the space of 12 weekes vpon those great waters in those vnknowne Countries, hauing nothing but a little meale or oatmeale and water to feed them; & scarce halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but that by the

Pawtuxunt, R.

Bolus, R.

The head of the Bay.

Sasquesahanock

Sa-

*The description
of a Sasquesa-
banough.*

Savages and by the plentie of fish they found in all places, they made themselves provision as opportunitie served; yet had they not a marriner or any that had skill to trim their sayles, vse their oares, or any businesse belonging to the Barge, but 2 or 3. The rest being Gentlemen or as ignorant in such toyle and labour, yet necessitie in a short time by their Captaines diligence and example, taught them to become so perfect, that what they did by such small meanes, I leaue to the censure of the Reader to iudge by this discourse and the annexed Map. But to proceed, 60 of those *Sasquesabanocks*, came to the discoverers with skins, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets, Beads, Swords, and Tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well proportioned men, are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest & simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring the discoverers as Gods. Those are the most strange people of all those Countries, both in language and attire; for their language it may well beseme their proportions, sounding from them, as it were a great voice in a vault, or caue, as an Eccho. Their attire is the skinnes of Beares, and Woolues, some haue Cassacks made of Beares heades and skinnes that a mans necke goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the beare fastned to his shoulders behind, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, and at the end of the nose hung a Beares Pawe, the halfe sleeues coming to the elbowes were the neckes of Beares and the armes through the mouth with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a Wolfe hanging in a chaine for a Jewell, his Tobacco pipe 3 quarters of a yard long, prettily carued with a Bird, a Beare, a Deare, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out the braines of a man, with bowes, and arrowes, and clubs, sutable to their greatnesse and conditions. These are scarce knowne to *Powhatan*. They can make neere 600 able and mighty men and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from
the

the *Massawomekes* their mortall enimies. 5 of their chiefe *Werowances* came aboard the discoverers and crossed the Bay in their Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mapped. The calfe of whose leg was 3 quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man that euer we beheld. His haire, the one side was long, the other shorne close with a ridge over his crown like a cocks combe. His arrowes were five quarters long, headed with flints or splinters of stones, in forme like a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These hee wore in a woolues skinne at his backe for his quiver, his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described.

On the East side the Bay is the river of *Tockwhogh*, & ^{*Tockwhogh. R.*} vpon it a people that can make 100 men, seated some 7 miles within the river: where they haue a Fort very well pallisadoed and mantelled with the barke of trees. Next to them is *Ozinies* with 60 men. More to the South of that East side of the Bay, the river of *Rapahanock*, neere vnto ^{*Rapahanock. R.*} which is the river of *Kuskarawaock*. Vpon which is seated ^{*Kuskarawaock.*} a people with 200 men. After that is the river of *Tants* ^{*R.*} *Wighcocomoco*, and on it a people with 100 men. The peo- ^{*Wighcocomoco.*} ^{*R.*} ple of those rivers are of little stature, of another language from the rest, and very rude. But they on the river of *Acohanock* with 40 men, and they of *Accomack* 80 men doth equalize any of the Territories of *Powhatan* & speake his ^{*Accomack. R.*} language, who over all those doth rule as king.

Southward they went to some parts of *Chamonock* and ^{*Chamonock.*} the *Mangoags* to search them there left by *S^r Walter Raleigh*; for those parts to the Towne of *Chisapeack* hath formerly been discovered by *M^r Heriots* and *S^r Raph Layne*. Amongst those people are thus many severall nations of sundry languages, that environ *Powhatans* Territories. ^{*The severall lan-*} ^{*guages.*} The *Chamonokes*, the *Mangoags*, the *Monacans*, the *Man-* ^{*nahokes*}, the *Masawomekes*, the *Powhatans*, the *Sasquesaha-* ^{*nocks,*}

nocks, the *Atquanachukes*, the *Tockwoghes*, and the *Kuscarawaokes*. Al those not any one vnderstandeth another but by Interpreters. Their severall habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mapped, which will present to the eie, the way of the mountaines and current of the riuers, with their severall turnings, bayes, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places and such like. In which Mapped obserue this, that as far as you see the little Crosses on riuers, mountaines, or other places haue beene discovered; the rest was had by information of the *Savages*, and are set downe, according to their instructions.

*Of such things which are naturall in Virginia
and how they vse them.*

Virginia doth afford many excellent vegetables and li-
 uing Creatures, yet grasse there is little or none, but what
 groweth in lowe Marishes: for all the Countrey is over-
 growne with trees, whose droppings continually turneth
 their grasse to weedes, by reason of the rancknesse of the
 ground which would soone be amended by good husban-
 dry. The wood that is most common is Oke and Walnut,
 many of their Okes are so tall and straight, that they will
 beare two foote and a halfe square of good timber for 20
 yards long; Of this wood there is 2 or 3 severall kinds. The
 Acornes of one kind, whose barke is more white, then the
 other, is somewhat sweetish, which being boyled halfe a
 day in se verall waters, at last afford a sweete oyle, which
 they keep in goards to annoint their heads and ioints. The
 fruit they cate made in bread or otherwise. There is also
 some Elme, some black walnut tree, and some Ash: of Ash
 and Elme they make sope Ashes. If the trees be very great,
 the ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps, but if they
 be small, it will be but powder, and not so good as the o-
 ther. Of walnuts there is 2 or 3 kindes; there is a kinde of
 wood we called Cypres, because both the wood, the fruit,
 and leafe did most resemble it, and of those trees there are
 some

*Why there is lit-
tle grasse.*

*Woods with
their fruits.*

Elme.

Walnuts.

Supposed Cypres

some neere 3 fadome about at the root very straight, and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a braunch. By the dwelling of the *Savages* are some great Mulbery trees, and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in prettie groues. There was an assay made to make silke, & and surely the wormes prospered excellent well, till the master workeman fell sicke. During which time they were eaten with rats.

Mulberies.

In some parts were found some Chesnuts whose wild fruit equalize the best in *France*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, or *Italy*, to their tastes that had tasted them all. Plumbs there are of 3 sorts. The red and white are like our hedge plumbs, but the other which they call *Putchamins*, grow as high as a *Palmeta*: the fruit is like a medler; it is first greene then yellow, and red when it is ripe; if it be not ripe it will drawe a mans mouth awrie, with much torment, but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricock.

Chesnuts.

They haue Cherries and those are much like a Damsen, but for their tastes and colour we called them Cherries. we see some few Crabs, but very small and bitter. Of vines great abundance in many parts that climbe the toppes of the highest trees in some places, but these beare but fewe grapes. But by the riuers and Savage habitations where they are not overshadowed from the sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruned nor manured. Of those hedge grapes wee made neere 20 gallons of wine, which was neere as good as your French Brittish wine, but certainly they would proue good were they well manured. There is another sort of grape neere as great as a Cherry, this they call *Messaminnes*, they bee fatte, and the iuyce thicke. Neither doth the tast so well please whē they are made in wine. They haue a small fruit growing on little trese, husked like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a very small acorne. This they call *Chechinquamins* which they esteeme a great daintie. They haue a berry much like our gooseberry, in greatnesse, colour, and tast; those they call

Cherries.

Vines.

Chechinquamēs

- Rawcomens** *Rawcomenes*, and doe eat them raw or boyled. Of these naturall fruits they liue a great part of the yeare, which they use in this manner, *The walnuts, Chesnuts, Acornes, and Chechriquamens* are dried to keepe. When they need them they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the walnut shels will cleaue to the fruit. Then doe they dry them againe vpon a mat ouer a hurdle. After they put it into a mortar of wood, and beat it very small: that done they mix it with water, that the shels may sinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke, which they cal *Pawcobiscora*, and keepe it for their vse. *The fruit like* medlers they call *Putchamins*, they cast vpon hurdles on a mat and preferue them as Pruines. *Of their Chesnuts and Chechinquamens* boyled 4 houres, they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, or at their greatest feasts. Besides those fruit trees, there is a *white populer*, and another tree like vnto it, that yeeldeth a very cleere and an odoriferous *Gumme like Turpentine*, which some called *Balsom*. There are also *Cedars* and *Saxafras trees*. They also yeeld gummes in a small proportion of themselues. Wee tryed conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more then our arts.
- Walnut milke.**
- Gummes, Cedars, Saxafras trees.**
- Berries.** In the watry valleyes groweth a *berry* which they call *Ocoughtanamnis* very much like vnto Capers. These they dry in sommer. When they will eat them they boile them neare halfe a day; for otherwise they differ not much from poyson. *Mattoume* groweth as our bents do in meddows. The seede is not much vnlike to rie, though much smaller. this they vse for a dainty bread buttered with deare suet.
- Matoume.**
- Strawberries** During Somer there are either *strawberries* which ripen in April; or mulberries which ripē in May & Iune. Raspises hurtes; or a fruit that the Inhabitāts call *Maracocks*, which is a pleasant wholesome fruit much like a lemond. Many *hearbes* in the spring time there are commonly dispersed throughout the woods, good for brothes and sallets, as *Violets, Purslin, Sorrell, &c.* Besides many we vsed whose names
- Hearbs.**

names we know not.

The chiefe roote they haue for foode is called *Tocka-Rootes*. *whoughe*, It groweth like a flagge in low muddy freshes. In one day a *Savage* will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the greatnes & taste of *Potatoes*. They vse to couer a great many of the with oke leaues & ferne, and then couer all with earth in the manner of a colepit; ouer it, on each side, they continue a great fire 24 houres before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better then poison, & being roasted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dried in the sun, mixed with sorrell and meale or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreame-ly, and yet in sommer they vse this ordinarily for bread.

They haue an other roote which they call *wighsacan*: as *wighsacan a Root.* as rhothor feedeth the body, so this cureth their hurts & diseases. It is a small root which they bruise and apply to the wound. *Pocones*, is a small roote that groweth in the mou- *Pocones a small Root.* taines, which being dried & beate in powder turneth red. And this they vse for swellings, aches, annointing their ioints, painting their heads and garments. They account it very pretious and of much worth. *Musquaspennae* is a roote *Musquaspennae, a Root.* of the bignesse of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying it will wither almost to nothing. This they vse to paint their Mattes, Targets and such like.

There is also *Pellitory of Spaine*, *Sasafrage*, and diuers o- *Pellitory.* ther simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and com- *Sasafrage.* mended to be good, and medicinable.

In the low Marishes growe plots of *Onyons* contai- *Onyons.* ning an acre of ground or more in many places; but they are small not past the bignesse of the Toppe of ones Thumbe.

Of beastes the chiefe are *Deare*, nothing differing from *Their chiefe* ours. In the deserts towards the heads of the riuers, ther are *beasts are Deare* many, but amongst the riuers few. There is a beast they call *Aroughcun*, much like a badger, but vseth to liue on trees as *Aroughcun, Squirrels* *Squirrels* doe. Their *Squirrels* some are neare as greate as

our smallest sort of wilde rabbits, some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are gray.

Assapanick a Squirrel flying. A small beast they haue, they call *Assapanick* but we call them flying squirrels, because spreading their legs, and stretching the largeness of their skins that they haue bin seene to fly 30 or 40 yards. *An Opassom* hath a head like a Swine, & a taile like a Rat, and is of the bignes of a Cat. Vnder her belly shee hath a bagge, wherein shee lodgeth, carrieth, and sucketh her young. *Mussascus*, is a beast of the forme and nature of our water Rats, but many of the smell exceeding strongly of muske. Their Hares no bigger then our Conies, and few of them to be found.

Bears. Their *Beares* are very little in comparison of those of *Muscovia* and *Tartaria*. The *Beaver* is as bigge as an ordinary water dogge, but his legges exceeding short. His fore feete like a dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket bare without haire, which to eat the *Savages* esteeme a great delicate. *The Beaver.* They haue many *Otters* which as the *Beavers* they take with snares, and esteeme the skinnes great ornaments, and of all those beasts they vse to feede when they catch them.

Otters. There is also a beast they call *Vetchunquoyes* in the forme of a wilde Cat, their *Foxes* are like our siluer haired Conies of a small proportion, and not smelling like those in England. Their *Dogges* of that country are like their Wolues, and cannot barke but howle, and their wolues not much bigger then our English Foxes. *Martins, Powlecats, weesels and Minkes* we know they haue, because we haue seene many of their skinnes, though very seldome any of them aliue. But one thing is strange that we could never perceiue their vermine destroy our hennes, Egges nor Chickens nor do any hurt, nor their flies nor serpents anie waie pernitiuous, where in the South parts of *America* they are alwaies dangerous and often deadly.

Birds. Of birds the Eagle is the greatest devourer. Hawkes there be of diuerse sorts as our Falconers called them. *Spa-*

rowhawkes, Lanarets, Goshawkes, Falcons & Osperayes, but they all pray most vpon fish. *Pattridges* there are little bigger then our Quailes, wilde Turkeys are as bigge as our tame. There are woofels or blackbirds with red shoulders, thrushes and diuerse sorts of small birds, some red, some blew, scarce so bigge as a wrenne, but few in Sommer. In winter there are great plenty of Swans, Craynes, gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geese, Brants, Ducke, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeyes, Parrats and Pigeons. Of all those sorts great abundance, and some other strange kinds 10 vs vnknowne by name. But in sommer not any or a very few to be seene.

Of fish we were best acquainted with *Surgeon*, *Grampus*, ^{Fish.} *Porpus*, *Seales*, *Stingraies*, whose tailes are very dangerous. *Brettes*, mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreyes, Catfish, Shades, Pearch of 3 sorts, Crabs, Shrimps, Creuises, Oysters, Cocles and Muscles. But the most strange fish is a smal one so like the picture of *S. George* his Dragon, as possible can be, except his legs and wings, and the Todefish which will swell till it be like to burst, when it commeth into the aire.

Concerning the entrailes of the earth little can be saide for certainty. There wanted good Refiners. for these that ^{The Rocks.} tooke vpon them to haue skill this way, tooke vp the washings from the mounetaines and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought down, flattering themselues in their own vaine conceits to haue bin supposed that they were not, by the meanes of that ore, if it proued as their arts and iudgements expected. Only this is certaine, that many regions lying in the same latitude, afford mines very rich of diuerse natures. The crust also of these rockes would easily perswade a man to beleeeue there are other mines then yron and steele, if there were but meanes and men of experience that knew the mine from *Spare.*

Of

*The voyages and discoveries of
Of their Planted fruits in Virginia and
how they use them.*

*How they di-
vide the yeare.*

They diuide the yeare into 5. seasons. Their winter some call *Popanow*, the spring *Cattapeuk*, the sommer *Cohattayough*, the earing of their Corne *Nepinough*, the haruest & fall of leafe *Taquitock*. From September vntill the midst of Nouember are the chiefe Feasts and sacrifice. Then haue they plenty of fruits as well planted as naturall, as corne, greene and ripe, fish, fowle, and wilde beastes exceeding fat.

*How they pre-
pare the ground*

The greatest labour they take, is in planting their corne, for the country naturally is ouergrowne with wood. To prepare the ground they bruise the barke of the trees neare the root, then do they scortch the roots with fire that they grow no mote. The next yeare with a crooked peece of wood, they beat vp the woodes by the rootes, and in that moulds they plant their corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put 4 graines of wheate, and 2 of beanes. These holes they make 4 foote one from another; Their women and childrē do continually keepe it with weeding, & whē it is growne midle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard.

How they plant

In Aprill they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantatiō is in May, and so they continue till the midst of Iune. What they plant in Aprill they reape in August, for May in September, for Iune in October; Every stalke of their corne commonly beareth two eares, some 3, seldome any 4, many but one & some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines. The stalke being green hath a sweet iuice in it, somewhat like a suger Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their corne greene, they sucke the stalkes: for as wee gather greene pease, so doe they their corne being greene, which excelleth their old. They plant also pease they cal *Assētamens*, which are the same they cal in *Italy*, *Fagioli*. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes cal *Garnanses*, but these they much esteeme for dainties.

Their

Their corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruising it in a mortar of wood with a Polt, lappe it in rowles in the leaues of their corne, and so boyle it for a daintie. They also referue that corne late planted that will not ripe, by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they esteeme it being boyled with beans for a rare dish, they call *Pausarowmena*. Their old wheat they first steep a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a mortar. They vse a small basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receaue the flower in a platter made of wood scraped to that forme with burning and shels. Tempering this flower with water, they make it either in cakes covering them with ashes till they bee baked, and then washing them in faire water they drie presently with their owne heat: or else boyle them in water eating the broth with the bread which they call *Ponap*. The grouts and peeces of the cornes remaining, by fanning in a Platter or in the wind, away, the branne they boile 3 or 4 houres with water, which is an ordinary food they call *Ustatahamen*. But some more thrifty then cleanly, doe burne the core of the eare to powder which they call *Pungnough*, mingling that in their meale, but it never tasted well in bread, nor broth. Their fish and flesh they boyle either very tenderly, or broyle it so long on hurdles over the fire, or else after the *Spanish* fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, til it be as drie as their ierkin beefe in the west *Indies*, that they may keepe it a month or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eate as commonly as the meat.

How they vse
their corne.

How they vse
their fish and
flesh.

In May also amongst their corne they plant Pumpeons, and a fruit like vnto a muske millen, but lesse and worse, which they call *Macocks*. These increase exceedingly, & ripen in the beginning of Iuly, and continue vntil September. They plant also *Maracocks* a wild fruit like a lemmon, which also inchease infinitely. They begin to ripe in Sep-

Planted fruits.

tember and continue till the end of October. When all their fruits be gathered, little els they plant, & this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long suffice them, for neere 3 parts of the yeare, they only obserue times and seasons, and liue of what the Country naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c.

The commodities in Virginia or that may be had by industrie.

A prooffe cattell will liue well.

The mildnesse of the aire, the fertilitie of the soile, and the situation of the rivers are so propitious to the nature & vse of man as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance. Vnder that latitude or climat, here will liue any beasts, as horses, goats, sheep, asses, hens, &c. as appeared by them that were carried thether. The waters, Isles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of warre or marchandize, for boats of all sortes, for transportation or fishing, &c. The Bay and riuers haue much marchandable fish and places fit for Salt coats, building of ships, making of iron, &c.

The commodities.

Muscovia and *Polonia* doe yearely receaue many thousands, for pitch, tarre, sope ashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, masts, yards, wainscot, Firres, glasse, & such like, also *Swethland* for iron and copper. *France* in like manner for Wine, Canvas, and Salt, *Spaine* as much for Iron, Steele, Figges, Reasons, and Sackes. *Italy* with Silkes, and Velvets consumes our chiefe commodities. *Holand* maintaines it selfe by fishing and trading at our owne doores. All these temporize with other for necessities, but all as vncertaine as peace or warres. Besides the charge, travell, and danger in transporting them, by seas, lands, stormes, and Pyrats. Then how much hath *Virginia* the prerogatiue of all those flourishing kingdomes for the benefit of our land, whenas within one hundred miles all those are to bee had, either ready provided by nature, or else to bee prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Only of Copper wee may doubt is wanting, but there is good probabilitie that
both

both copper and better minerals are there to be had for their labor. Other Countries haue it. So thē here is a place a nurse for souldiers, a practise for marriners, a trade for marchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a businesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore infidels to the true knowledge of God and his holy Gospell.

Of the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia.

The land is not populous, for the men be fewe; their far greater number is of women & children. Within 60 miles of *James Towne* there are about some 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres scarce 1500. To nourish so many together they haue yet no means because they make so smal a benefit of their land, be it never so fertill. 6 or 700 haue beene the most hath beene seene together, whē they gathered themselues to haue surpris'd Captaine Smyth at *Pamavuke*, hauing but 15 to withstand the worst of their furie. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beene discovered, is in comparison of that yet vnknowne. The people differ very much in stature, especially in language, as before is expressed. Some being very great as the *Sesquesahamocks*; others very little, as the *Wighcocomoes*; but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, & of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white. Their haire is generally black, but few haue any beards. The men weare halfe their heads shaven, the other halfe long; for Barbers they vse their women, who with 2 shels will grate away the haire, of any fashion they please. The women are cut in many fashions agreeable to their yeares but ever some part remaineth long. They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods vnder a trec by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in *Ambuscado* in the Sommer. They are inconstant in everie thing, but what feare constraineth them to keepe. Craftie,

The numbers.

700 men were the most were seene together whē they thoght to haue surpris'd Captaine Smith.

A description of the people.

The barbers.

The constitution

The disposition.

timorous, quicke of apprehensio & very ingenuous . Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all *Savage*. Generally covetous of coppeer, beads, & such like trash. They are soone moved to anger, and so malicious, that they seldome forget an iniury: they seldome steale one from another, least their coniuers should reueale it, and so they be pursued and punished. That they are thus feared is certaine, but that any can reueale their offences by coniuration I am doubtfull . Their women are carefull not to bee suspected of dishonesty without the leaue of their husbands. Each household knoweth their owne lands & gardens, and most liue of their owne labours. For their appa-
The possessions rell, they are some time couered with the skinnes of wilde beasts, which in winter are dressed with the haire, but in
Their attire. sommer without. The better sort vse large mâtels of deare skins not much differing in fashion frô the Irish mantels. Some imbrodered with white beads, some with copper, other painted after their manner. But the common sort haue scarce to cover their nakednesse but with grasse, the leaues of trees, or such like. We haue seen some vse mantels made of Turkey feathers, so prettily wrought and wouen with threeds that nothing could bee discerned but the feathers. That was exceeding warme and very handsome. But the women are alwaies couered about their midles with a skin and very shamefast to be seene bare. They adorne theselues
Their ornaments most with copper beads and paintings. Their women some haue their legs, hands, breasts and face cunningly imbrode- red with diuerse workes, as beasts, serpentes, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots . In each eare commonly they haue 3 great holes, whereat they hange chaines bracelets or copper . Some of their men weare in those holes, a smal Greene & yellow coloured snake, neare halfe a yard in length, which crawling & lapping her selfe about his necke often times familiarly would kisse his lips. Others wear a dead Rat tied by the tail. Sõe on their heads weare the wing of a bird, or some large feather with a Rat-
tel

tell. Those Rattels are somewhat like the chape of a Rapier but lesse, which they take from the taile of a snake. Many haue the whole skinne of a hawke or some strange fowle, stuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad peece of copper, and some the hand of their enemy dryed. Their heads and shoulders are painted red with the roote *Pocone* braied to powder mixed with oyle, this they hold in somer to preferue them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings they vse, but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behould.

Their buildings & habitations are for the most part by the riuers or not farre distant from some fresh spring. Their houses are built like our Arbors of small young springs bowed and tyed, and so close covered with mats, or the barks of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde, raine or weather, they are as warme as stooues, but very smoaky, yet at the toppe of the house there is a hole made for the smoake to goe into right over the fire. *Their buildings*

Against the fire they lie on little hurdles of Reedes covered with a mat borne from the ground a foote and more by a hurdle of wood. On these round about the house they lie heads and points one by thother against the fire, some covered with mats, some with skins, and some starke naked lie on the ground, from 6 to 20 in a house. Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens which are smal plots of ground. Some 20, some 40. some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse, some times from 2 to 100 of those houses together, or but a little separated by groues of trees. Neare their habitations is little small wood or old trees on the ground by reason of their burning of them for fire. So that a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any waie, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder. *Their lodgings.*

Men women and children haue their severall names according to the seuerall humor of their Parents. Their women (they say) are easilie deliuered of childe, yet doe they *How they vse their children.*

loue children verie dearly. To make them hardy, in the coldest mornings they thē wash in the riuers and by painting and ointments so tanne their skins, that after a year or two, no weather will hurt them.

The industry of their women.

The men bestowe their times in fishing, hunting, wars & such manlike exercises, scorning to be seene in any womā like exercise, which is the cause that the women be verie painefull and the men often idle. The women and children do the rest of the worke. They make mats, baskets, pots, morters, pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare al kind of burdens and such like.

How they strike fire.

Their order of diet.

Their fire they kindle presently by chafing a dry pointed sticke in a hole of a little square peece of wood, that firing it selfe, will so fire mosse, leaues, or anie such like drie thing, that will quickly burne. In March and Aprill they liue much vpon their fishing, weares, and feed on fish, Turkeys and squirrels. In May and Iune they plant their fieldes and liue most of Acornes, walnuts, and fish. But to mend their diet, some disperse themselues in small companies & liue vpon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Torteyses, strawberries, mulberries, & such like. In Iune, Iulie, and August they feed vpon the rootes of *Tocknough* berries, fish and greene wheat. It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their diet, euen as the deare and wilde beastes they seeme fat and leane, strong and weak. *Powhatan* their great king and some others that are provident, rost their fish and flesh vpon hurdles as before is expresed, and keepe it till scarce times.

How they make their bowes and arrowes.

For fishing and hunting and warres they vse much their bow and arrowes. They bring their bowes to the forme of ours by the scraping of a shell. Their arrowes are made some of straight young sprigs which they head with bone, some 2 or 3 inches long. These they vse to shoot at squirrels on trees. An other sort of arrowes they vse made of reeds. These are peece with wood, headed with splinters

of

of chriſtall or ſome ſharpe ſtone, the ſpurres of a Turkey, or the bill of ſome bird. For his knife he hath the ſplinter of a reed to cut his feathers in forme. With this knife alſo, he will ioint a Deare or any beaſt, ſhape his ſhooes, bufkins, mantels, &c. To make the nock of his arrow hee hath the tooth of a Beuer, ſet in a ſticke, wherewith he grateth it by degrees, His arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracer, of any ſplint of a ſtone, or glaſſe in the forme of a hart and theſe they glew to the end of their arrowes. With the ſinewes of Deare, and the tops of Deares hornes boiled to a ielly, they make a glew that will not diſſolue in cold water.

Their knives.

For their wars alſo they uſe Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a ſworde of wood at their backs, but oftentimes they uſe for ſwords the horne of a Deare put through a peece of wood in forme of a Pickaxe. Some a long ſtone ſharped at both ends uſed in the ſame manner. This they were wont to uſe alſo for hatchets, but now by trucking they haue plenty of the ſame forme of yron. And thoſe are their chiefe inſtruments and armes.

Their Targets and Swords.

Their fiſhing is much in Boats. Theſe they make of one tree by bowing & ſcratching away the coles with ſtons & ſhels till they haue made it in forme of a Trough. Some of them are an elne deepe, and 40 or 50 foot in length, and ſome will beare 40 men, but the moſt ordinary are ſmaller and will beare 10, 20, or 30. according to their bignes. Inſteed of oares, they uſe paddles and ſticks with which they will row faſter then our Barges. Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women uſe to ſpin, the barkes of trees, deare ſinews, or a kind of graſſe they call *Pemmenaw*, of theſe they make a thred very even & readily. This thred ſerveth for many uſes. As about their houſing, apparell, as alſo they make nets for fiſhing, for the quantity as formally braded as ours. They make alſo with it lines for angles. Their hookes are either a bone grated as they nock their arrows in the forme of a crooked pinne or fiſhook or of the ſplin-

Their boats.

How they ſpin.

Their fiſhookes.

ter of a bone tied to the clift of a litle stick , and with the ende of the line , they tie on the bate. They vse also long arrowes tyed in a line wherewith they shoote at fish in the rivers. But they of *Accammack* vse staues like vnto Iavelins headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They haue also many artificiall weares in which they get abundance of fish.

In their hunting and fishing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteeme it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein. And by their continuall ranging, and travel, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deare, Beasts, Fish, Foule, Rootes, and Berries. At their huntings they leaue their habitations, and reduce themselues into companies, as the *Tartars* doe, and goe to the most desert places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling vp towards the mountaines, by the heads of their riuers, where there is plentie of game. For betwixt the rivers the grounds are so narrowe, that little commeth there which they deuoure not. It is a marvel they can so directly passe these deserts, some 3 or 4 daies iourney without habitation. Their hunting houses are like vnro Arbours couered with mats. These their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they vse. Whē they come to the place of exercise, euery man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excelling in those quallities, they get their wiues. Forty yards will they shoot leuell, or very neare the mark, and 120 is their best at Random. At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly 2 or 300 together. Hauing found the Deare, they enuiron them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselues. And some take their stands in the midst. The Deare being thus feared by the fires and their voices, they chace them so long within that circle that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting. They vse also to driue them into some narrowe point of land; when

when they find that aduantage and so force them into the riuer, where with their boats they haue *Ambuscadoes* to kill them. When they haue shot a Deare by iand, they follow him like blood hounds by the blood and straine and ostentines so take them. Hares, Pattridges, Turkeys, or Egges, fat or leane, young or old, they deuoure all they cā catch in their power. In one of these huntings they found Captaine *Smith* in the discoverie of the head of the river of *Chickahamania*, where they slew his men, and tooke him prisoner in a Bogmire, where he saw those exercises, & gathered these observations.

One Savage hunting alone, vseth the skinne of a Deare slit on the one side, and so put on his arme, through the neck, so that his hand comes to the head which is stuffed, and the hornes, head, eies, eares, and every part as arteficially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shrowding his body in the skinne by stalking he approacheth the Deare, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deare chance to find fault, or stande at gaze, hee turneth the head with his hand to his best aduantage to seeme like a Deare, also gazing and licking himselfe. So watching his best aduantage to approach, hauing shot him, hee chaseth him by his blood and straine till he get him. *One Savage hunting alone.*

When they intend any warres, the *Werowances* vsually haue the advice of their Priests and Coniurers, and their Allies and ancient friends, but chiefly the Priestes determine their resolution. Every *Werowance*, or some lustie fellow, they appoint Captaine over every nation. They seldome make warre for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They haue many enemies, namely all their westernely Countries beyond the mountains, and the heads of the rivers. Vpon the head of the *Powhatans* are the *Monacans*, whose chiefe habitation is at *Russawmeake*, vnto whome the *Mouhemenchughes*, the *Massinnacacks*, the *Monahassanuggs*, and other nations pay tributs. Vpon the head of the river of *Toppahanock* is 2

D

people.

people called *Mannahoacks*. To these are contributors the *Tauxsnitanias*, the *Shackaconias*, the *Outponcas*, the *Tegoneaes*, the *Whonkentyaes*, the *Stegarakes*, the *Hassinnungas*, and diuerse others, all confederats with the *Monacans* though many different in language, and be very barbarous living for most part of wild beasts and fruits: Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river *Patawomeke*, the Savages report inhabit their most mortall enemies, the *Massawomekes* vpon a great salt water, which by all likelyhood is either some part of *Commada* some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South sea. These *Massawomekes* are a great nation and very populous. For the heads of all those riuers, especially the *Pattawomekes*, the *Pantuxuntes*. The *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Tockwoughes* are continually tormented by them: of whose crueltie, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with Captaine *Smith* and his company to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose they offered food, conduct, assistance, & continuall subiectiō. To which he concluded to effect, But the counsell then present emulating his successe, would not thinke it fit to spare him 40 men to be hazarded in those vnkowne regions, hauing passed (as before was spoken of) but with 12, & so was lost that opportunitie. Seauen boats full of these *Massawomekes* the discouerers encountred at the head of the *Bay*; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Platters, Bowes and Arrowes, and euery thing shewed, they much exceeded them of our parts, and their dexteritie in their small boats made of the barkes of trees sowed with barke and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are seated vpon some great water.

Massawomekes.
Their offer of subiectiō.

Against all these enemies the *Powhatans* are constrained sometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or surprisals. Yet the *Werowances*, women and children they put not to death but keepe them Captiues, They haue a method in warre and for our pleasures

tures they shewd it vs, and it was in this manner performed at *Mattapanient*.

Having painted and disguised themselves in the fiercest *Their manner* manner they could devise. They divided themselves into *of battell.* two Companies, neare a 100 in a company. The one company Called *Monacans*, the other *Powhatans*. Either army had their Captaine. These as enemies tooke their stands a musket shot one from another; ranked themselves 15 a breast and each ranke from another 4 or 5 yards, not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles, So as the Reare could shoot as conueniently as the Front. Hauing thus pitched the fields: from either part went a Messenger with these conditions, that whosoever were vanquished, such as escape vpon their submission in 2 daies after should liue, but their wiues and children should be prize for the Conquerers. The messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders; On each flanke a Sarieant, and in the Reare an officer for levitenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping & singing after their accustomed tune which they vse only in warres. Vpon the first flight of arrowes they gaue such horrible shouts and screeches, as though so many infernall helhounds could not haue made them more terrible. When they had spent their arrowes they ioined together prettily, charging and retiring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage they caught their enemies by the haire of the head, and downe he came that was taken. His enimie with his wooden sword seemed ro beat out his braines, and still they crept to the Reare, to maintaine the skirmish. The *Monacans* decreasing, the *Powhatans* charged them in the forme of a halfe moone; they vnwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their *Ambuscadoes* on whome they led them very cunningly. The *Monacans* disperse themselves among the fresh men, wherevpon the *Powhatans* retired, with al speed to their seconds; which the *Monacans* seeing, took that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each

returned to their owne quarter. All their actions, voices & gestures, both in charging and retiring were so strained to the hight of their quallitie and nature, that the strangenes thereof made it seem very delightfull.

Their Musicke.

For their musicke they vse a thicke cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres they haue a great deepe platter of wood. They cover the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a walnut, which meeting on the backside neere the bottome, with a small rope they twitch thē together till it be so tought and stiffe, that they may beat vpon it as vpon a drumme. But their chiefe instruments are Rattels made of small gourds or Pūpions shels. Of these they haue Base, Tenor, Countertenor, Meane and Tribble. These mingled with their voices sometimes 20 or 30 together, make such a terrible noise as would rather af-

*Their entertain-
ment.*

fright then delight any man. If any great commāder arriue at the habitation of a *Werowance*, they spread a mat as the Turkes do a carpet for him to sit vpon. Vpon an other right opposite they sit themselues. Then doe all with a tunable voice of showting bid him welcome. After this doe 2. or more of their chiefe men make an oration, testifying their loue. Which they do with such vehemency & so great passions, that they sweate till they drop, and are so out of breath they can scarce speake. So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry or starke mad. Such victuall as they haue, they spend freely & at night where his lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresh painted red with *Pocoes* and oile, to be his bedfellow.

Their trade.

Their manner of trading is for copper, beades, and such like, for which they giue such commodities as they haue, as skins, fowle, fish, flesh, and their coutry corne. But their victuall is their chiefe riches.

Their phisicke.

Every spring they make themselues sicke with drinking the iuice of a root they call *wighsacan*, and water, whereof they powre so great a quantity, that it purgeth them in a very violent maner; so that in 3 or 4 daies after they scarce

reco-

recover their former health. Sometimes they are troubled with dropfies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases; for cure wherof they build a stoue in the form of a douehouse with mats, so close that a fewe coales therein covered with a pot, will make the pacient sweate extreameley. For swellings also they vse swal peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloues, which pricking on the grieffe they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this root *wighsacan* they ordinarily heal greene wounds. But to scarrifie a swelling or make incision their best instruments are some splinted stone. Old vlcers or putrified hurtes are seldome seene cured amongst thē. They haue many professed Phisitions, who with their charmes and Rattels with an infernall rowt of words and actions will seeme to sucke their inwarde grieffe from their navels or their grieved places; but of our Chirurgians they were so conceipted, that they beleueed any Plaister would heale any hurt.

Their chirurgery.

Their charmes to cure.

Of their Religion.

There is yet in *Virginia* no place discovered to bee so *Savage* in which the *Savages* haue not a religion, Deare, and Bow, and Arrowes. All things that were able to do thē hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of diuine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordinance, peeces, horses, &c. But their chiefe God they worship is the Diuell. Him they call *Oke* & serue him more offeare then loue. They say they haue cōference with him, and fashion themselues as neare to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples they haue his image euill favouredly carued, and then painted and adorned with chaines copper, and beades, and couered with a skin, in such māner as the deformity may well suit with such a God. By him is commonly the sepulcher of their kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dried vpon hurdles till they bee verie dry, and so about the most of their iointes and necke they hang bracelets or chaines of copper, pearle, and such like,

Their God.

How they burye their kings.

as they vse to weare, their inwards they stufte with copper beads and couered with a skin, hatchets and such trash. Then lappe they them very carefully in white skins and so rowle them in mats for their wineding sheetes. And in the Tombe which is an arch made of mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth their kings haue, they set at their feet in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests.

Their ordinary burials.

For their ordinary burials they digge a deep hole in the earth with sharpe stakes and the corpes being lapped in skins & mats with their iewels, they lay them vpon sticks in the ground, and so couer them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with black cole and oile, doe sit 24 howers in the houses mourning & lamenting by turnes, with such yelling & howling as may expresse their great passions.

Their Temples.

In every Territory of a *werowance* is a Temple & a Priest 2 or 3 or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at *Uttamussack* at *Pamavuke*, neare vnto which is a house Temple or place of *Powhatans*.

Vpon the top of certaine redde sandy hils in the woods. There are 3 great houses filled with images of their kings and Diuels and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare 60 foot in length built arbor wise after their building. This place they count so holy as that but the Priestes and kings dare come into them; nor the *Savages* dare not go vp the river in boats by it, but that they solēly cast some peece of copper white beads or *Pocones* into the river, for feare their *Oke* should be offended and revēged of them.

Their ornaments for their Priests

In this place commonly is resident 7 Priests. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments, but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the cōmon people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their iewels at. The ornaments of the chiefe Priest was certain attires for his head made thus. They tooke a dosen or 16 or more

more snake skins and stuffed them with mosse, and of weefels and other vermine skins a good many . All these they tie by their tailes, so as all their tailes meete in the toppe of their head, like a great Tassell. Round about this Tassell is as it were a crown of feathers, the skins hang round about his head necke and shoulders and in a manner cover his face . The faces of all their Priests are painted as vgly as they can devise, in their hands they had every one his Rattell, some base, some smaller . Their devotion was most in songs which the chiefe Priest beginneth and the rest followed him, sometimes he maketh invocations with brokē sentences by starts and strange passions , & at every pause, the rest giue a short groane.

It could not bee perceiued that they keepe any day as more holy then other ; But only in some great distresse of want, feare of enimies, times of triumph and gathering together their fruits , the whole country of men women and children come together to solemnities . *Their times of solemnities.* The manner of their devotion is, sometimes to make a great fire , in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it with rattles and shouts together, 4 or 5 houres. Sometime they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing, he all the while clapping his hands as if he would keepe time , & after their songs and dauncings ended they goe to their Feasts.

They haue also diuers coniurations one they made whē *Their coniurations.* Captaine *Smith* was their prisoner (as they reported) to know if any more of his countrymen would ariue there, & what he there intended. The manner of it was thus. First they made a faire fire in a house; about this fire set 7 Priests setting him by them, and about the fire, they made a circle of meale. That done the chiefe Priest attired as is expressed began to shake his rattle, and the rest followed him in his song. At the end of the song, he laid downe 5 or 3 graines of wheat and so continued counting his songs by the graines, till 3 times they incirculed the fire , then they di-

vided

vided the graines by certaine numbers with little stickes, laying downe at the ende of euery song a little sticke. In this manner they sat 8, 10, or 12 houres without cease, with such strange stretching of their armes, & violent passions and gestures as might well seeme strange to him they so coniured who but every houre expected his end: not any meat they did eat till late in the evening they had finished this worke, and then they feasted him and themselves with much mirth, but 3 or 4 daies they continued this ceremony.

Their altars.

They haue also certaine Altar stones they call *Pawcorances*, but these stand from their Temples, some by their houses, other in the woodes and wilderesses. Vpon this they offer blood, deare suet, and Tobacco. These they doe when they returne from the warres, from hunting, and vpon many other occasions. They haue also another superstition that they vse in stormes, when the waters are rough in the riuers and sea coasts. Their Coniurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their boats, after many hellish outcries and invocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, *Pocones* or such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whome they thinke to be very angry in those stormes. Before their dinners and suppers the better sort will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire, which is all the grace they are known to vse.

Sacrifices to the water.

Their solemn sacrifices of children.

In some part of the Country they haue yearely a sacrifice of children. Such a one was at *Quiyoughcohano* some 10 miles from *James Towne* and thus performed. Fifteene of the properest young boyes, betweene 10 and 15 yeares of age they painted white. Hauing brought them forth the people spent the forenoone in dancing and singing about them with rattles. In the afternoone they put those childre to the roote of a tree. By them all the men stood in a guard, every one hauing a Bastinado in his hand, made of reeds bound together. This made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed 5 young men

to fetch these childrē: so every one of the fiue wēt through the guard to fetch a child each after other by turnes , the guard fearelessly beating them with their Bastinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receauing all , defending the children with their naked bodies from the vnmercifull blowes that pay them soundly though the children escape. All this while the women weepe and crie out very passionately, prouiding mats, skinnes, mosse , and drie wood , as things fitting their childrens funerals. After the children were thus passed the guard, the guard tore down the trees, branches, and boughs , with such violence that they rent the body, and made wreathes for their heads, or bedecked their haire with the leaues. What else was done with the children, was not seene , but they were all cast on a heape, in a valley as dead, where they made a great feast for al the company. The *Werowance* being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered that the children were not al dead, but that the *Oke* or *Divell* did sucke the blood from their left breast, who chanced to be his by lot , till they were dead, but the rest were kept in the wilder nesse by the yong men till nine moneths were expired , during which time they must not conuerse with any, and of these were made their Priests and Coniurers. This sacrifice they held to bee so necessarie, that if they should omit it, their *Oke* or *Divel* and all their other *Quiyoughcosughes* which are their other Gods, would let them haue no Deare, Turkies, Corne, nor fish, and yet besides , hee would make a great slaughter amongst them.

They thinke that their *Werowances* and Priestes which they also esteeme *Quiyoughcosughes*, when they are dead, doe goe beyond the mountaines towards the setting of the sun, and euer remaine there in forme of their *Oke*, with their heads painted with oile and *Pocones*, finely trimmed with feathers, and shal haue beades, hatchets, copper, and tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing , with all their Predecessors. But the common people they suppose

Their resurre-
tion.

shall not liue after death.

To diuert them from this blind idolatrie , many vsed their best indeaours, chiefly with the *Werowances* of *Quiyoughcohanock*, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those Countries , who though we could not as yet preuaile withall to forsake his false Gods, yet this de did beleue that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes & Arrows and many times did send to the President, at *James* towne, men with presents, intreating them to pray to his God for raine, for his Gods would not send him any. And in this lamentable ignorance doe these poore soules sacrifice themselves to the Diuell, not knowing their Creator.

*Of the manner of the Virginians
gouvernement.*

Although the countrie people be very barbarous , yet haue they amongst them such gouernement , as that their Magistrats for good commanding, and their people for du subiection, and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill. The forme of their Common wealth is a monarchicall gouernement , one as Emperour ruleth ouer many kings or governours. Their chiefe ruler is called *Powhatan* , and taketh his name of the principall place of dwelling called *Powhatan*. But his proper name is *Wahunsonacock*. Some countries he hath which haue been his ancestors, and came vnto him by inheritance, as the countrie called *Powhatan*, *Arrohateck*, *Appamatuke*, *Pamavuke*, *Toughtarud*, and *Mattapanient*. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Map, they report haue beene his seuerall conquests. In all his ancient inheritances, hee hath houses built after their manner like arbours, some 30 some 40 yardes long, and at euery house provision for his entertainment according to the time. At *Werowcomoco*, he was seated vpon the Northside of the riuer *Pamavuke*, some 14 miles from *James* Towne, where for the most part, hee was resident, but he tooke so little pleasure in our neare neighbour

bourhood, that were able to visit him against his will in 6 or 7 houres, that he retired himself to a place in the deserts at the top of the riuer *Chickahamania* betweene *Toughtanund* & *Powhatan*. His habitation there is called *Orapacks* where he ordinarily now resideth. He is of parsonage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke, his head somewhat gray, his beard so thinne that it seemeth none at al, his age neare 60; of a very able and hardy body to endure any labour. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of 40 or 50 of the tallest men his Country doth afford. Every night vpon the 4 quarters of his house are 4 Sentinels each standing from other a flight shoot, and at euery halfe houre one from the Corps du guard doth hollowe, vnto whome every Sentinell doth answer round from his stand; if any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely.

A description of Powhatan.

His attendance and watch.

A mile from *Orapakes* in a thicket of wood hee hath a house in which he keepeth his kind of Treasure, as skinned, copper, pearle, and beades, which he storeth vp against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is his store of red paint for ointment, and bowes and arrowes. This house is 50 or 60 yards in length, frequented only by Priestes. At the 4 corners of this house stand 4 Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the 3 like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man, all made euillfauldly, according to their best workmanship.

His treasure.

He hath as many women as he will, whereof when hee lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet, but when he sitteth, one sitteth on his right hand and another on his left. As he is wearie of his women, hee bestoweth them on those that best deserue them at his hands. When he dineth or supbeth, one of his women before and after meat, bringeth him water in a woden platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them instead of a Towell, and the feathers when he hath wiped are dried againe. His kingdome def-

His wives.

His successors cendeth not to his sonnes nor children, but first to his brethren, whereof he hath 3. namely *Opitchapan*, *Opechanca-nough*, and *Catataugh*, and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister then to the rest and after thē to the heires male and female of the eldest sister, but never to the heires of the males.

Their authority He nor any of his people vnderstand any letters wherby to write or read, only the lawes wherby he ruleth is custome. Yet when he listeth his will is a law and must bee obeyed: not only as a king but as halfe a God they esteeme him. His inferiour kings whom they cal *werowances* are tyed to rule by customes, and haue power of life & death as their command in that nature. But this word *Werowance* which we call and conster for a king, is a common worde wherby they call all commanders: for they haue but fewe words in their language, and but few occasions to vse anie officers more then one commander, which commōly they call *werowances*. They all knowe their severall landes, and habitations, and limits, to fish, fowle, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great *Werowances Powhatan*, vnto whome they pay tribute of skinnes, beades, copper, pearle, deare, turkies, wild beasts, and corne. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare and adoration all these people doe obay this *Powhatan*. For at his feet they present whatsoever hee commandeth, and at the least frowne of his browe, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no maruell, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. For example hee caused certaine malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then hauing of many fires gathered great store of burning coles, they rake these coles rōūd in the forme of a cockpit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Somtimes he causeth the heads of them that offend him, to be laid vpon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubbes beates out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enimie or malefac-

cor, he causeth him to be tied to a tree, & with muske shells or reeds, the executioner cutteth of his ioints one after another, euer casting what they cut of into the fire; then doth he proceed with shells and reeds to case the skinne from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly and so burne him with the tree and all. Thus themselues reported they executed *George Cassen*. Their ordinary correction is to beate them with cudgels. Wee haue seene a man kneeling on his knees, and at *Powhatans* command, two men haue beat him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senselesse in a sound, & yet neuer cry nor complained.

In the yeare 1608, hee surprised the people of *Payankatank* his neare neighbours and subiects. The occasion was to vs vnknowne, but the manner was thus. First he sent diuerse of his men as to lodge amongst them that night, then the *Ambuscadoes* inuironed al their houses, & at the houre appointed, they all fell to the spoile, 24 men they slewe, the long haire of the one side of their heades with the skinne cased off with shells or reeds, they brought away. They surprised also the women & the children and the *Werowance*. All these they present to *Powhatan*. The *Werowance*, womē and children became his prisoners, & doe him service. The lockes of haire with their skinnes he hanged on a line vnto two trees. And thus he made ostentation of as great a triumph at *Werowocomoco*, shewing them to the English men that then came vnto him at his appointment, they expecting provision, he to betray them, supposed to halfe conquer them by this spectacle of his terrible crueltie.

And this is as much as my memory can call to mind worthe of note; which I haue purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of *Virginia*. Yet some bad natures will not sticke to slander the Countrey, that will slovenly spit at all things, especially in company where they can find none to contradict them. Who though they were scarce euer 10 miles from *James Town*, or at the most but at the falles; yet holding it a great disgrace that

amongst so much action, their actions were nothing, ex-
 claime of all things, though they never adventured to
 knowe any thing; nor euer did any thing but deuoure the
 fruits of other mens labours. Being for most part of such
 tender educations and small experience in martiall acci-
 dents, because they found not English cities, nor such faire
 houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed
 dainties, with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes
 and alehouses in every breathing place, neither such plen-
 ty of gold and siluer and dissolute liberty as they expected,
 had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bel-
 lies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their means
 to returne for England. For the Country was to them a mi-
 serie, a ruine, a death, a hell, and their reports here, & their
 owne actions there according.

Some other there were that had yearely stipends to pass
 to and againe for transportation: who to keepe the myste-
 ry of the businesse in themselues, though they had neither
 time nor meanes to knowe much of themselues; yet al mēs
 actions or relations they so formally tuned to the tempo-
 rizing times simplicitie, as they could make their ignoran-
 ces seeme much more, then al the true actors could by their
 experience. And those with their great words deluded the
 world with such strange promises as abused the businesse
 much worse then the rest. For the businesse being builded
 vpon the foundation of their fained experience, the plan-
 ters, the mony, tinne, and meanes haue still miscaried: yet
 they ever returning, and the Planters so farre absent, who
 could contradict their excuses? which stil to maintain their
 vaine glory and estimation, from time to time they haue v-
 sed such diligence as made them passe for truthes, though
 nothing more false. And that the advēturers might be thus
 abused, let no man wonder; for the wisest liuing is soonest
 abused by him that hath a faire tongue and a dissembling
 heart.

There were many in *Virginia* meerely proiecting, verbal
 and

and idle contemplatours, and those so deuoted to pure idleness, that though they had lived two or three yeares in *Virginia*, lordly, necessitie it selfe could not compell them to passe the *Peninsula*, or *Pallisadoes* of *Iames Towne*, and those wittie spirits, what would they not affirme in the behalfe of our transporters to get victuall from their ships, or obtaine their good words in *England* to get their passes. Thus from the clamors and the ignorance of false informers, are sprung those disasters that sprung in *Virginia*, and our ingenious verbalists were no lesse plague to vs in *Virginia*, then the Locusts to the Egyptians. For the labour of 30 of the best only preferued in Christianitie by their industrie the idle liuers of neare 200 of the rest: who liuing neere 10 months of such naturall meanes, as the Country naturally of it selfe afforded, notwithstanding all this, and the worst furie of the Savages, the extremitie of sicknesse, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall; in all that time I lost but 7 or 8 men, yet subiected the Savages to our desired obedience, and receaued contribution from 35 of their kings, to protect and assist thē against any that should assault them, in which order they continued true & faithful, and as subiects to his Maiestie, so long after as I did gouern there, vntill I left the Country: since, how they haue revolted, the Countrie lost, and againe replanted, and the busineses hath succeeded from time to time, I referre you to the relations of them returned from *Virginia*, that haue bin more diligent in such observations,

FINIS.

THE
PROCEEDINGS OF
THE ENGLISH COLONIE IN
Virginia since their first beginning from
England in the yeare of our Lord 1606,
*till this present 1612, with all their
accidents that befell them in their
Iournies and Discoveries.*

Also the Salvages discourses, orations and relations
of the Bordering neighbours, and how they be-
came subiect to the English.

*Unfolding even the fundamentall causes from whence haue sprang so many misfe-
ries to the undertakers, and scandals to the businesse taken faith-
fully as they were written out of the writings of Thomas
Studley the first provant maister, Anas Todkill, Walter
Russell Doctour of Physicke, Nathaniell Powell,
William Phettyplace, Richard Wyffin, Tho-
mas Abbay, Tho: Hope, Rich: Polts and
the labours of divers other dili-
gent observers, that were
residents in Virginia.*

*And perused and confirmed by diverse now resident in
England that were actors in this busines.*
By W. S.



AT OXFORD,
Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612.

TO THE READER.

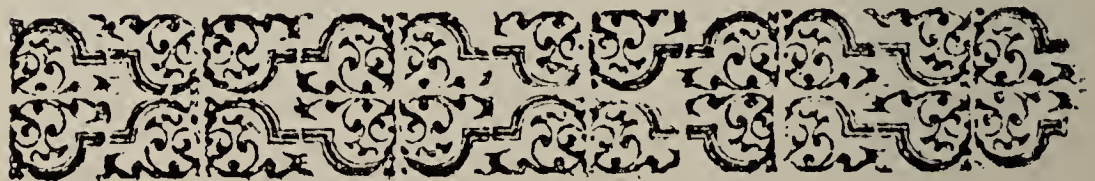


Long hath the world longed, but to be truly satisfied what Virginia is, with the truth of those proceedings, from whence hath flowne so manie reports of worth, & yet few good effects of the charge, which hath caused suspicion in many well willers that desire yet but to be truly satisfied therein. If any can resolve this doubt it is those that have lived residents in the land: not salers, or passengers, nor such mercenary contemplator, that only bedeck themselves with others plumes. This discourse is not from such, neither am I the author, for they are many, whose particular discourses are signed by their names. This solid treatise, first was compiled by Richard Potts, since passing the hands of many to veruse, chācing into my hands, (for that I know them honest men, and can partly well witnesse their relations true) I could do no lesse in charity to the world thē reveale; nor in cōscience, but approve. By the advise of many graue and understanding gentlemen, that haue pressed it, to the presse, it was thought fit to publish it, rather in it owne rude phrase then other waies. For that nothing can so purge that famous action from the infamous scandal some ignorantly haue conceited, as the plaine simple and naked truth. For defect whereof the businesse is still suspected, the truth unknowne, and the best deservers discouraged, and neglected, some by false reports, others by coniecture, and such power hath flattery to ingender of those, hatred and affection, that one is sufficiens to be guile more, then 500 can

keepe from being deceiued.

But this discourse is no iudge of mens manners, nor catalogue of their former courses; only a reporter of their actions in Virginia, not to disgrace any, accuse any, excuse any, nor flatter any; for which cause there is no wrong done but this, shortnesse in complaining, & so sparing in conending as only the reader may perceiue the truth for his paines, & the action purged of foule slander; it can detract from none that intendeth there to adventure their fortunes; and to speake truly of the first planters, that brake the vce & beate the path, howsoener many difficulties obscured their induvours he were worse then the worst of Ingrates, that would not spare them memory that haue buried themselves in those forrain regions. From whose first adventures may spring more good blessings then are yet conceived. So I rest thine, that will read, peruse, & vnderstand me. If you finde false orthography or broken English, they are small faultes in souldiers, that not being able to write learnedly, onlie strive to speake truly, and be vnderstood without an Interpreter.

T. ABBAY.



THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH
*Colony in Virginia, taken faithfully out of the writings
 of Thomas Studly Cape-marchant, Anas Todkill,
 Doctor Russell, Nathaniel Powell, William Pheti-
 place, and Richard Pot, with the laboures of other dis-
 creet observers, during their residences.*

CHAP. I.



It might well be thought, a coun-
 trie so faire (as *Virginia* is) and a
 people so tractable, would long
 ere this haue beene quietly pos-
 sessed, to the satisfaction of the
 adventurers, and the eternizing
 of the memorie of those that af-
 fected it. But because all the world doe see a defaile-
 ment; this following Treatise shall giue satisfaction
 to all indifferent readers, how the businesse hath beene
 carried, where no doubt they will easily vnderstand
 and answer to their question, howe it came to passe
 there was no better speed and successe in those pro-
 ceedings.

Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*, the first mover of *The first mover
of the action.*
 this plantation, hauing many yeares solicited many
 of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevail-
 ed with some Gentlemen, as Mr *Edward maria Wing-
 field*, Captaine *John Smith*, and diuerse others who de-
 pended a yeare vpon his proiects, but nothing could
 be effected, till by their great charge and industrie it
 came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie,

The proceedings and actions of

Orders for go-
vernments.

Gentrie , and Marchants , so that his Maiestie by his letters patents , gaue commission for establishing Councils, to direct here, and to governe , and to execute there; to effect this, was spent another yeare , and by that time, three ships were provided , one of 100 Tonns, another of 40 and a Pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captaine *Christopher Newport* , a Marriner well practised for the westerne parts of *America*. But their orders for gouernement were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arived in *Virginia*.

On the 19 of December, 1606. we set saile , but by vnprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of England; all which time , *Mr Hunt* our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recoverie. Yet although he were but 10 or 12 miles from his habitation (the time we were in the downes) and notwithstanding the stormie weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better then Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst vs) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines , but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage , before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes , whose disastrous designs (could they haue prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse , so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envie, and dissention.

We

Wee watred at the Canaries, wee traded with the Salvages at *Dominica*; three weekes we spent in refreshing our selus amongst these west-India Iles; in *Gwardalupa* we found a bath so hot, as in it we boiled porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Ile called *Monica*, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare 2 hogshheads full of birds in 3 or 4 houres. In *Mevis*, *Mona*, and the Virgin Iles, we spent some time, where with a lothsome beast like a Crocadil, called a Gwayn, Tortoses, Pellicans, Parrots, & fishes, we daily feasted. Gone from thence in search of *Virginia*, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Marriners had three daies passed their reckoning and found no land, so that Captaine *Ratcliffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare vp the helme to returne for England, then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing thē by an extream storme to hul all night, did driue them by his providence to their desired port, bey ond all their expectations, for never any of them had seene that coast. The first land they made they called *Cape Henry*; where anchoring, *Mr Wingfeild*, *Gosnoll*, and *Newport*, with 30 others, recreating themselues on shore, were assalted by 5 Salvages, who hurt 2 of the English very dangerously. That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, *Edward Wingfeild*, *Christopher Newport*, *John Smith*, *John Ratcliffe*, *John Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were named to bee the Councill, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councill should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Jurie, but

Monica an unfrequented Ile full of birds.

Their first landing.

Matters of government.

but determined by the maior part of the Councell in which the Precedent had 2 voices. Vntill the 13 of May they sought a place to plant in, then the Councell was sworne, *M. wingfeild* was chosen Preident, & an oration made, whie Captaine *Smith* was not admitted of the Councell as the rest.

*The discovery of
the Falles and
Powhatan.*

Now saith every man to worke, the Councell contriue the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clapbord to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, &c. The Salvages often visited vs kindly. The Preidents overweening icalousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification, but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine *Kendall*, *Newport*, with *Smith*, and 20 others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers smal habitations they passed, in 6 daies they arrived at a towne called *Powhatan*, consisting of some 12 houses pleasantly seate don a hill; before it 3 fertill Iles, about it many of their cornefields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the Prince is called *Powhatan*, and his people *Powhatans*, to this place the river is navigable, but higher within a mile, by reason of the Rockes and Iles, there is not passage for a smal boate, this they call the Falles, the people in al parts kindly intreated them, til being returned within 20 miles of *James* towne, they gaue iust cause of icalousie, but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise then those at the fort, there had then beene an end of that plantation; for at the fort, where they arived the next day, they

they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slain by the Salvages, and had it not chanced a crosse barre shot from the ships strooke down a bough from a tree amongst them that caused them to retire, our men had all been slain, being securely all at worke, and their armes in dric fats.

The Fort assaulted by the Salvages.

Hereupon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the ordinance mounted, his men armed and exercised, for many were the assaults, and Ambuscadoes of the Salvages, and our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Salvages by the nimbleness of their heeles well escaped. What toile wee had, with so smal a power to guard our workmen, watch all night, resist our enemies and effect our business, to relade the ships, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our corne, &c.

I referre to the readers consideration. Six weekes being spent in this manner, Captaine *Newport* (who was hired only for our transportation) was to return with the ships, now Captaine *Smith*, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner upon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute) who fained he intended to vlrpe the government, murder the Councill, and make himselfe king, that his confederats were dispersed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederats that revealed it, would affirme it, for this he was committed, 13 weekes he remained thus suspected, and by that time the ships should returne they pretended out of their commiserations, to referre him to the Councill in England to receive a
B check,

check, rather then by particulating his designes make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vterly overthrowe his reputation; but he much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the vttermost of their crueltie, hee wisely prevented their pollicies, though he could not suppress their envies, yet so well he demeaned himselfe in this busines, as all the company did see his innocencie, & his aduersaries malice, and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation; many vntruthes were alleaged against him; but being so apparently disproved begat a generall hatred in the harts of the company against such vniust commanders; many were the mischiefes that daily sprong from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good doctrine and exhortation of our preacher Mr *Hunt* reconciled them, and caused Captaine *Smith* to be admitted of the Councell; the next day all receaved the Communion, the day following the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine

*Cap. Newport's
returne for Eng
land.*

Newport returned for England with newes; leaving in *Virginia* 100. the 15 of Iune 1607.

The names of them that were the first planters, were these following.

Mr Edward Maria Wingfield.

Captaine Bartholomew Gosnoll.

Cap. John Smyth.

Cap. Iohn Ratliffe.

Cap. Iohn Martin.

Cap. George Kendall.

} Councell.

M:

the first planters in Virginia.

7

Mr Robert Hunt Preacher.

Mr George Percie.

Anthony Gosnoll.

Cap. Gabriell Archer.

Rob. Ford.

William Bruster.

Dru Pickhouse.

John Brookes.

Thomas Sands.

John Robinson.

Vstis Clovill.

Kellam Throgmorton.

Nathaniell Powell.

Robert Behethland.

Jeremy Alicock.

Thomas Studley.

Richard Crofts.

Nicholas Houlgraue.

Thomas webbe:

John Waler.

William Tankard.

Francis Snarsbrough.

Edward Brookes.

Richard Dixon.

John Martin.

George Martin.

Anthony Gosnold:

Thomas Wotton, Sierg.

Thomas Gore.

Francis Midwinter.

Gent.

The proceedings and accidents of

William Laxon.

Edward Pising.

Tho. Emry.

Rob. Small.

Anas Todkill. John Capper.

James Read, Blacksmith.

Jonas Profit, Sailer.

Tho. Couper, Barber.

John Herd, Bricklayer.

William Garret, Bricklayer

Edward Brinto, Mason.

William Loue, Taylor.

Nic. Skot, Drum.

John Laydon.

William Cassen.

George Cassen.

Tho. Cassen.

William Rods.

William White.

Ould Edward.

Henry Tauin.

George Golding.

John Dods.

William Johnson.

Will. Vnger.

Will. Wilkinson. Surgeon

Samuell Collier.

Nat. Pecoock.

James Brumfield.

Rich. Mutton.

Carpenters.

Labourers.

Boyes.

with diverse others to the number of 105.

CHAP. 2.

CHAP. 2.

what happened till the first supply.



Eing thus left to our fortunes, it
fortuned that within tennedaies The occasion of
sicknesse.
scarfe ten amongst vs coulde ei-
ther goe, or well stand, such ex-
treame weaknes and sicknes op-
pressed vs. And thereat none
need mervaile, if they consider
the cause and reason, which was

this; whilest the ships staid, our allowance was some-
what bettered, by a daily proportion of bisket which
the sailers would pilfer to sell, giue or exchange with The sailers ab-
scs.
vs, for mony, saxefras, furrer, or loue. But when they
departed, there remained neither taverne, beere-house
nor place of relife but the common kettell. Had we
beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony, and drunken-
nes, we might haue bin canonized for Saints; But our
President would never haue bin admitted, for ingrof-
sing to his privat, Otemeale, sacke, oile, aquavite, beefe
eggs, or what not, but the kettel; that indecde he allow-
ed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pinte
of wheat and as much barley boyled with water for a
man a day, and this having fryed some 26. weeks in the
ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines; so
that we might truely call it rather so much bran then
corne, our drinke was water, our lodgings castles in
aire, with this lodging and diet, our extreame toile in
bearing and planting pallisadoes, so strained and brui-

fed vs, and our continuall labour in the extremity of the heate had so weakned vs, as were cause sufficient to haue made vs as miserable in our natiue coūtry, or any other place in the world. From May, to September, those that escaped; lived vpon Sturgion, and sea-Crabs, 50. in this time we buried, The rest seeing the *Presidēt's* proiects to escape these miseries in our *Pinnas* by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sicknes) so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him; and established *Ratcliffe* in his place, (*Gosnoll* being dead) *Kendall* deposed, *Smith* newly recovered, *Martin* and *Ratliffe* was by his care preserved and relieved, but now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned each houre expecting the fury of the Salvages; when God the patron of all good indeavours in that desperate extremitie so changed the harts of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits, and provision as no man wanted.

A bad Precedēt
Plentie & unexpected.

And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the Councel to send forth men so badly prouided, this incontradictable reason will shew them plainly they are too ill advised to nourish such ill conceipts; first the fault of our going was our owne, what coulde be thought fitting or necessary wee had, but what wee should finde, what we should want, where we shoulde be, we were all ignorant, and supposing to make our passage in two monthes, with victuall to liue, and the advantage of the spring to worke; we weare at sea 5. monthes where we both spent our victuall & lost the opportunity of the time, and season to plant.

Such

Such actions haue ever since the worlds beginning beene subiect to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties, but nothing so difficult as to establish a common wealth so farre remote from men and meanes, and where mens mindes are so vntoward as neither do well themselues nor suffer others; but to proceed.

The new President, and *Martin*, being little beloved; of weake iudgement in dangers, and lesse industry in peace, cōmitted the managing of all things abroad to captaine *Smith*: who by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch, some to build houses, others to thatch them, himselfe alwaies bearing the greatest taske for his own share, so that in short time, he provided most of them lodgings neglecting any for himselfe. this done, seeing the Salvages superfluity beginne to decrease (with some of his workemen) shipped himselfe in the shallop to search the country for trade, the want of the language, knowledge to mānage his boat without sailers, the want of a sufficient power, (knowing the multitude of the Salvages) apparell for his men, & other necessaries, were infinite impediments, yet no discouragemēt. Being but 6 or 7 in company he went down the river to *Keco ghtan*, where at first they scorned him, as a starved man, yet he so dealt with them, that the next day they loaded his boat with corne, & in his returne he discovered & kindly traded with the *weraskoyks*, in the meane time those at the fort so glutted the Salvages with their commodities they as became not regarded.

*The building of
James Towne.*

*The beginning
of trade abroad.*

Smith

Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late miserie) not any regarded but from hand to mouth, (the company being well recovered) caused the *Pinas* to be provided with things fitting to get provision for the yeare following; but in the interim he made 3. or 4. iournies and discovered the people of *Chickahamine* yet what he carefully provided the rest carelessly spent. *Wingfield* and *Kendall* liuing in disgrace, seeing all things at randome in the absence of *Smith*, The companies dislike of their Presidents weaknes, & their small loue to *Martins* never-mending sicknes, strengthened themselves with the failers, and other confederates to regaine their former credit & authority, or at least such meanes aboard the *Pinas*, (being fitted to saile as *Smith* had appointed for trade) to alter her course and to go for England. *Smith* vnexpectedly returning had the plot discovered to him, much trouble he had to prevent it till with store of fauken and musket shot he forced them stay or sinke in the riuer, which action cost the life of captaine *Kendall*. These brawles are so disgustfull, as some will say they were better forgotten, yet all men of good iudgement will conclude, it were better their basenes should be manifest to the world, then the busines beare the scorne and shame of their excused disorders. The President and captaine *Archer* not long after intended also to haue abandoned the country, which proiect also was curbed, and suppressed by *Smith*. The Spanyard never more greedily desired gold then he victuall, which finding so plentiful in the riuer of *Chickahamine* where hundreds of Salvages in diuers places stood with baskets expecting his coming

The discoverie
of *Chickahamine*
ne.

Another proiect
to abandon the
Country.

ming. And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, duckes, & cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, and putchamins, fish, fowle, and diverse sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eat them: so that none of our Tuftaffary humorists desired to goe for anglād. But our comedies never endured lōg without a Tragedie; sōe idle exceptiōs being muttered against Captaine *Smith*, for not discovering the head of *hickahamine* river, and taxed by the Councell, to bee too slowe in so worthie an attempt. The next voyage hee proceeded so farre that with much labour by cutting of trees in sinder he made his passage, but when his Barge could passe no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should goe ashore till his returne; himselfe with 2 English & two Salvages went vp higher in a Canowe, but hee was not long absent, but his mē went ashore, whose want of government, gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprile one *George Casson*, & much failed not to haue cut of the boat & all the rest, *Smith* little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marches at the rivers head, 20 myles in the desert, had his 2 men slaine (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall, who finding he was beset with 200 Salvages, 2 of them hee slew, stil defending himselfe with the aid of a Salvage his guid, (whome hee bound to his arme and vsed as his buckler, till at last slipping into a bogmire they tooke him prisoner: when this newes came to the fort much was their sorrow for his losse, fewe expecting

C

what

what ensued. A month those Barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphes and coniurations they made of him, yet hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not only diverted them from surprising the Fort, but procured his owne liberty, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired him as a demi God. So returning safe to the Fort, once more staid the Pinnas her flight for England, which til his returne, could not fet faile, so extreame was the weather, and so great the frost.

*The 3 proiect to
abandon the fort*

His relation of the plentie he had seene, especially at *Werowocomoco*, where inhabited *Powhatan* (that till that time was vnknowne) so revived againe their dead spirits as all mens feare was abandoned, *Powhatan* having sent with this Captaine divers of his men loaded with provision, he had conditioned, & so appointed his trustie messengers to bring but 2 or 3 of our great ordonances, but the messengers being satisfied with the sight of one of the discharged, ran away amazed with feare, till meanes was vsed with gifts to assure them our loues. Thus you may see what difficulties stil crossed any good indeavour, and the good successe of the businesse, and being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction, yet you see by what strange meanes God hath still delivered it. As for the insufficiencie of them admitted in commission, that error could not be prevented by their electors, there being no other choice, and all were strangers each to others education, quallities, or disposition; & if any deeme it a shame to our nation, to haue any mention made of these e-

*A true prooffe of
Gods love to the
abandon.*

normities, let them peruse the histories of the Spanish discoveries and plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, discords, and dissensions, haue accompanied them and crossed their attempts, which being knowne to be particular mens offences, doth take away the generall scorne and contempt, mallice, and ignorance might else produce, to the scandall and reproach of those, whose actions and valiant resolution deserue a worthie respect. Now whether it had beene better for Captaine *Smith* to haue concluded with any of their severall proiects to haue abandoned the COUNTRY with some 10 or 12 of them we call the better sort, to haue left Mr *Hunt* our preacher, M. *Anthony Goswoll*, a most honest, worthie, and industrious gentleman, with some 30 or 40 others his country men, to the furie of the Salvages, famine, and all manner of mischiefes and inconveniences, or starved himselfe with them for company, for want of lodging, or but adventuring abroad to make them provision, or by his opposition, to preserve the action, and saue all their liues, I leaue to the censure of others to consider.

Of two evils the lesser was chose

Thomas Studley.

CHAP. 3.

The arrivall of the first supply with their proceedings and returne.



LL this time our cares were not so much to abandon the Countrey, but the Treasurer & Councell in England were as diligent and carefull to supplie vs. Two tall ships they sent vs, with neere 100 men, well furnished with all things could be imagined neces-

*The Phenix frō
Cape Henry for-
ced to the west
Indies.*

sarie, both for them and vs. The one commanded by Captaine *Newport*: the other by Captaine *Nelson*, an honest man and an expert marriner, but such was the leewardnesse of his ship, (that though he were within sight of *Cape Henry*) by stormy contrarie windes, was forced so farre to sea, as the West Indies was the next land for the repaire of his Masts, and reliefe of wood and water. But Captaine *Newport* got in, and arived at *James towne*, not long after the redemption of Captaine *Smith*, to whome the Salvages every other day brought such plentie of bread, fish, turkies, squirrels, deare, & other wild beasts, part they gaue him as presents from the king; the rest, hee as their market clarke set the price how they should sell.

*How C. Smith
got his liberty.*

So he had inclined those poore soules (being their prisoner) in demonstrating vnto them the roundnesse of the world, the course of the moone and starres, the cause of the day and night the largenes of the seas the quallities of our ships, shot and powder, The devison of the world, with the diversity of people, their complexions, customes and conditions. All which hee faigned to be vnder the command of Captaine *Newport*, whom he termed to them his father; of whose arri-
val

val, it chanced he so directly prophesied, as they esteemed him an oracle; by these fictions he not only saved his owne life, and obtained his liberty, but had them at that command, he might command them what he listed. That God that created all these things; they knew he adored for his God, whom they would also tearme in their discourses, the God of captaine *Smith*. The President and Councel so much envied his estimation amongst the Salvages (though wee all in generall equally participated with him of the good therof) that they wrought it into their vnderstandings, by their great bounty in giuing 4. times more for their commodities then he appointed, that their greatnesse and authority, as much exceed his, as their bounty, and liberality; Now the arrivall of his first supply, so overioyed vs, that we could not devise too much to please the mariners. We gaue them liberty to track or trade at their pleasures. But in a short time, it followed, that could not be had for a pound of copper, which before was sold for an ounce, Thus ambition, and sufferance, cut the throat of our trade, but confirmed their opinion of *Newports* greatnes, (wherewith *Smith* had possessed *Powhatan*) especially by the great presents *Newport* (often sent him, before he could prepare the Pinas to go and visit him; so that this Salvage also desired to see him. A great bruit there was to set him forward; when he went he was accompanied, with captaine *Smith*, & *Mr* *Scrivener* a very wise vnderstanding gentleman newly arrived, & admitted of the Councell, & 30. or 40. chosen men for that garde. Arriving at *werawacomo* *Newports* cōcept of this great Salvage, bred

Their opinion of our God.

*Smiths revisi-
ting Powhatan*

many doubts, and suspitions of treacheries ; which *Smith*, to make appeare was needlesse, which 20. men well appointed, vnderooke to encounter (with that nūber) the worst that could happē there names were.

Nathaniell Powell.

Robert Beheathland.

William Phettiplace.

Richard Wyffin.

Anthony Gosnell.

John Taverner.

William Dier.

Thomas Coe.

Thomas Hope.

Anas Todkell

*Powbatans first
entertainment
of our men.*

with 10. others whose names I haue forgotten, These being kindly receiued a shore, with 2. or 300. Salvages were conducted to their towne; *Powhatan* strained himselfe to the vttermost of his greatnes to entertain vs, with great shouts of Ioy, orations of protestatiōs, and the most plenty of victuall hee could prouide to feast vs . Sitting vpon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather imbroydred (after their rude manner) with pearle & white beades, his attire a faire Robe of skins as large as an Irish mantle, at his head and feet a handsome young woman; on each side his house sate 20. of his concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white beads about their necks, before those sate his chieft men in like order in his arbor-like house. With many pretty discourses to renewe their olde acquaintaunce; the great kinge and our captaine spent the time till the ebbe left our Barge a
ground

ground, then renewing their feasts and mirth we quartered that night with *Powhatan*: the next day *Newport* came a shore, and received as much content as those people could give him, a boy named *Thomas Savage* The exchange of a Christian for a Salvage. was then given unto *Powhatan* who *Newport* called his son, for whom *Powhatan* gave him *Namontacke* his trusty servant, and one of a shrewd subtil capacity, 3. or 4. daies were spent in feasting dancing and trading, wherein *Powhatan* carried himselfe so proudly, yet discreetly (in his Salvage manner) as made vs all admire his natural gifts considering his education, as scorning to trade as his subjects did, he bespake *Newport* in this manner.

Captain *Newport* it is not agreeable with my greatnes in this pedling manner to trade for trifles, and I esteeme you a great *werowans*, Therefore lay me down all your commodities together, what I like I will take, and in recompence give you that I thinke fitting their value. Captaine *Smith* being our interpreter, regarding *Newport* as his father, knowing best the disposition of *Powhatan* told vs his intent was but to cheat vs; yet captaine *Newport* thinking to out braue this Salvage in ostentation of greatnes, & so to bewitch him with his bounty, as to haue what he listed, but so it chanced *Powhatan* having his desire, valued his corne at such a rate, as I thinke it better cheape in *Spaine*, for we had not 4. bushels for that we expected 20. hogsheds, This bred some vnkindnes betweene our two captaines, *Newport* seeking to please the humor of the vn-satiabie Salvage; *Smith* to cause the Salvage to please him, but smothering his distast (to avoide the Difference of opinions; Sal-

*James Lorne
burnt.*

*A ship idly loi-
sing 14 weeks.*

Salvages suspicion) glauced in the eyes of *Powhatan* many Trifles who fixed his humour vpon a few blew beads; A long time he importunately desired them, but *Smith* seemed so much the more to affect the, so that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blew beads he brought over my king for 2 or 300 bushels of corne, yet parted good friends. The like entertainment we found of *Spechanbynough* king of *Pamaunke* whom also he in like manner fitted, (at the like rates) with blew beads: and so we returned to the fort. Where this new supply being lodged with the rest, accidentally fired the quarters, & so the Towne, which being but thatched with reeds the fire was so fierce as it burnt their pallizadoes (though 10. or 12 yardes distant) with their armes, bedding, apparell, and much private provision. Good *Mr Hunt* our preacher lost all his library, and all that he had (but the cloathes on his backe,) yet none ever see him repine at his losse. This hapned in the winter, in that extreame frost, 1607. Now though we had victuall sufficient, I meane only of Oatemeale, meale, and corne, yet the ship staying there 14. weeks when shee might as well haue been gone in 14. daies, spent the beefe, porke, oile, aquavite, fish, butter, and cheefe, beere and such like; as was provided to be landed vs. When they departed, what their discretion could spare vs, to make a feast or two with bisket, pork beefe, fish, and oile, to relish our mouths, of each somewhat they left vs, yet I must confest those that had either mony, spare clothes, credit to giue bills of payment, gold rings, furies, or any such commodities were ever welcome to this removing taverne, such was

was our patience to obey such vile commanders, and buy our owne provision at 15 times the valew, suffering the feast (we bearing the charge) yet must not repine, but fast, and then leakage, ship-rats, and other casualties occasioned the losse, but the vessell and remnants (for totals) we were glad to receive with all our hearts to make vp the account, highly commending their providence for preserving that. For all this plenty our ordinarie was but meale and water, so that this great charge little relieved our wants, whereby with the extremitie of the bitter cold aire more then halfe of vs died, and tooke our deathes, in that piercing winter I cannot deny, but both *Skriuener* and *Smith* did their best to amend what was amisse, but with the Presidents went the maior part, that their hornes were too short. But the worst mischief was, our gilded refiners with their golden promises, made all men their slaues in hope of recompence, there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold, such a brute of gold, as one mad fellow desired to bee buried in the sandes, least they should by their art make gold of his bones, little need there was and lesse reason, the ship should stay, their wages run on, our victuall consume, 14 weekes, that the Mariners might say, they built such a golden Church, that we can say, the raine washed neare to nothing in 14 daies. Were it that Captaine *Smith* would not applaud all those golden inventions, because they admitted him not to the sight of their trials, nor golden consultations I knowe not; but I heard him question with Captaine *Martin* and tell him, except he would shew

*The effect of
meere verba-
liss.*

a needles charge

D

him

*Arreturue to
England.*

him a more substantiall triall, hee was not inamored with their durtie skill, breathing out these and many other passions, never any thing did more torment him, then to see all necessarie businesse neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much gilded durt; till then wee never accounted Captaine *Newport* a refiner; who being fit to set saile for England, and wee not having any vse of Parliaments, plaies, petitions, admirals, recorders, interpreters, chronologers, courts of plea, nor Iustices of peace, sent *M. Wingfield* & *Cap. Archer* with him for England to seeke some place of better imploiment.

CHAP. 4.

*The arivall of the Phœnix, her returne,
and other accidents.*

*The repairing
of James towne*

HE authoritie nowe consisting in refining, Captaine *Martin* and the still sickly President, the sale of the stores commodities maintained their estates as inheritable revenews. The spring approaching, and the ship departed, *M. Skriuener* and *Capt. Smith* divided betwixt the rebuilding our towne, the repairing our pallisadoes, the cutting downe trees, preparing our fields, planting our corne, & to rebuild our Church, and recover our store-house; al men thus busie at their severall labours, *M. Nelson* arived with his lost Phoenix (lost I say, for that al men deemed him lost) landing safely his men; so well hee had managed his ill hap, causing the Indian Iles to feed his company
thas

that his victuall (to that was left vs before) was sufficient for halfe a yeare, he had nothing but he freely imparted it, which honest dealing (being a marriner) caused vs admire him, wee would not haue wished so much as he did for vs. Nowe to relade this ship with some good tidings. The President (yet notwithstanding with his dignitie to leaue the fort) gaue order to Captaine *Smith* and *M. Skriuener* to discover & search the commodities of *Monacans* countrie beyound the Falles, 60 able men was allotted their number, the which within 6 daies exercise, *Smith* had so well trained to their armes and orders, that they little feared with whome they should encounter. Yet so vnseasonable was the time, and so opposite was *Capt. Martin* to every thing, but only to fraught his ship also with his phantastical gold, as Captaine *Smith* rather desired to relade her with Cedar, which was a present dispatch; then either with durt, or the reports of an vncertaine discoverie. Whilst their conclusion was resolving, this hapned.

60 appointed to discover *Monacans*.

Powhatan to expresse his loue to *Newport*, when he departed, presented him with 20 Turkies, conditionally to returne him 20 Swords, which immediatly were sent him; Now after his departure hee presented Captaine *Smith* with the like luggage, but not finding his humor, obaied in sending him weapons, he caused his people with 20. devises to obtain them, at last by ambuscadoes at our very ports they would take them per force, surprise vs at work, or any way, which was so long permitted that they became so insolent, there was no rule, the command from England was so straight not

An ill example to sell swords to Salvages.

Powhatans treacherie.

The governours
weaknesse.

Smiths attempt
to suppress the
Salvages insol-
encies.

Powhatan's ex-
cuses.

to offend the, as our authority bearers (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing the peace breakers: this charitable humor prevailed, till well it chanced they medled with captaine *Smith*, who without farther deliberation gaue the such an incounter, as some he so hunted vp and downe the Ile, some he so terrified with whipping, bearing and imprisonment, as for revenge they surprised two of his forraging disorderly souldiers, and having assembled their forces, boldly threatned at our ports to force *Smith* to redeliver 7. Salvages which for their villanies he detained prisoners, but to try their furies, in lesse then halfe an houre he so hampered their insolencies, that they brought the 2. prisoners desiring peace without any farther composition for their prisoners, who being threatned and examined their intents and plotters of their villanies confessed they were directed only by *Powhatan*, to obtaine him our owne weapons to cut our own throats, with the manner how, where, and when, which wee plainely found most true and apparant, yet he sent his messengers & his dearest Daughter *Pocahuntas* to excuse him, of the iniuries done by his subiects, desiring their liberties, with the assurance of his loue, after *Smith* had giuen the prisoners what correction hee thought fit, vsed them well a day or two after, & then deliuered the *Pocahuntas*, for whose sake only he fained to saue their liues and graunt them liberty. The patient councel, that nothing would moue to warre with the Salvages, would gladly haue wrangled with captaine *Smith* for his cruelty, yet none was slaine to any mans knowledge but it brought them in such feare & obedi-

obedience, as his very name wold, sufficiently affright them. The traught of this ship being concluded to be Cedar, by the diligence of the Master, and captaine *Smith* shee was quickly reladed; *Mr Scrivener* was neither Idle nor slow to follow all things at the fort, the ship falling to the Cedar Ile, captaine *Martin* having made shift to be sicke neare a yeare, & now, neither pepper, suger, cloues, mace, nor nugmers, ginger nor sweet meates in the country (to inioy the credit of his supposed art) at his earnest request, was most willingly admitted to returne for England, yet having beene there but a yeare, and not past halfe a year since the ague left him (that he might say somewhat he had seene) hee went twice by water to *Paspahagh* a place neere 7. miles from *James towne*, but lest the dew should distemper him, was ever forced to returne before night, Thus much I thought fit to expresse, he expressly commāding me to record his iournies, I being his man, and he sometimes my master.

A ship traught with Cedar.

The adz. name of Capt. Martin

Thomas Studly. Anas Todkill.

Their names that were landed in this supply:

Matthew Scriviner, appointed to be of the Councill.

Michaell Phetyplace.

William Phetyplace.

Ralfe Morton.

William Cantrill.

Richard Wyffin.

Robert Barnes.

George Hill.

D 3

George

The proceedings and accidents

George Pretty.	}	Gent.
John Taverner.		
Robert Cutler.		
Michaell Sickelmore.		
Thomas Coo.		
Peter Pory.		
Richard Killingbeck.		
William Causey.		
Doctor Russell.		
Richard Worley.		
Richard Prodger.		
William Bayley.		
Richard Molynex.		
Richard Pots.		
Iefrey Abots.		
John Harper.		
Timothy Leds.		
Edward Gurganay.		
George Forest.		
John Nickoles.		
William Gryvill.		

Daniell Stalling Iueller.
 William Dawson Refiner.
 Abraham Ransacke Refiner.
 William Johnson Goldsmith.
 Peter Keffer a Gunner.
 Robert Alberton a Perfumer.
 Richard Belfield Goldsmith.

Ramon Goodyson.

John Speareman.

William Spence.

Richard Brislow.

William Simons.

John Bouth.

William Burket.

Nicholas Ven.

William Perce.

Francis Perkins.

Francis Perkins.

William Bentley.

Richard Gradon.

Rowland Nelstrop

Richard Salvage.

Thomas Salvage.

Richard Miler.

William May.

Vere.

Michaell.

Bishop Wyles.

John Powell.

Thomas Hope.

William Beckwith.

William Yonge.

Laurence Towntales.

William Ward.

Christopher Rodes.

James Watkings.

Richard Fetherstone.

James Burne.

Labourers.

Tailers.

Tho.

The proceedings and accidents

Thomas Feld. }
 John Harford. } Apo thecaries.
 Post Gittinat a Curgion.
 John Lewes a Couper.
 Robert Cotten a Tobacco pipe maker.
 Richard Dole a blacke Smith & divers others to
 the number of 120.

CHAP. 5.

The accidents that happened in the Discoverie of the bay.



He prodigality of the Presidents state went so deepe in the store that *Smith* and *Scrivener* had a while tyed both *Martin* & him to the rules of proportion, but now *Smith* being to depart, the Presidents authoritie so over-
 swayed *Mr Scriveners* discretion as our store, our time, our strength and labours was idly consumed to fulfill his phantasies. The second of Iune 1608. *Smith* left the fort to performe his discoverie; with this company.

Walter Russell Doctour of Physicke.

Ralph Morton.

Thomas Momford.

William Cantrill.

Richard Fetherstone.

James Bourne.

Michael Sicklemore.

Gent.

<i>Anas Todkill.</i>	}	Sould.
<i>Robert Small.</i>		
<i>James Watkins.</i>		
<i>John Powell.</i>		
<i>James Read blacke smith.</i>		
<i>Richard Keale fishmonger.</i>		
<i>Jonas Profit fisher.</i>		

These being in an open barge of two tunnes burthen leaving the Phenix at Cape-Henry we crossed the bay to the Easterne shore & fell with the Iles called *Smiths*, Iles the first people we saw were 2 grimme and stout Salvages vpon *Cape Charles* with long poles like Iavelings, headed with bone, they boldly demanded what we were, and what we would, but after many circumstances, they in time seemed very kinde, and directed vs to *Acamacke* the habitation of the *We* *rowans* where we were kindly intreated; this king was the comliest proper civill Salvage wee incountred: his country is a pleasant fertill clay-soile. Hee tolde vs of a straunge accident lately happened him, and it was Two dead children by the extreame passions of their parents, or some dreaming visions, phantasie, or affection moved thẽ againe to revisit their dead carkases, whose benumbed bodies reflected to the eies of the beholders such pleasant delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vital spirits. This as a miracle drew many to behold them, all which, (being a great part of his people not long after died, and not any one escaped. They spake the language of *Powhatã* wherein they made such descriptions of the bay, Iles, and rivers that often did vs exceeding pleasure. Passing

Cape Charles.

Acamacke.

A strange mortalitye of Saluages.

E

along

along the coast, searching every inlet, and bay fit for harbours & habitations seeing many Iles in the midst of the bay, we bore vp for them, but ere wee could attaine them, such an extreame gust of wind, raine, thūder, and lightning happened, that with great daunger we escaped the vnmercifull raging of that ocean-like water. The next day searching those inhabitable Iles (which we called *Ruffels Iles*) to provide fresh water, the defect whereof forced vs to follow the next Easterne channell, which brought vs to the river *Wighcocomoco*, the people at first with great furie, seemed to assault vs, yet at last with songs, daunces, and much mirth, became very tractable, but searching their habitations for water, wee could fill but 3, and that such puddle, that never til then, wee ever knew the want of good water, we digged and searched many places but ere the end of two daies wee would haue refused two barricoes of gold for one of that puddle water of *Wighcocomoco*. Being past these Iles, falling with a high land vpon the maine wee found a great pond of fresh water, but so exceeding hot, that we supposed it some bath: that place we called *Point ployer*, being thus refreshed in crossing over from the maine to other Iles, the wind and waters so much increased with thunder, lightning, and raine, that our fore-mast blew overbord and such mightie waues overwrought vs in that smal barge, that with great labour wee kept her from sinking by freeing out the water, 2 daies we were inforced to inhabit these vninhabited Iles, which (for the extremitie of gusts, thunder, raine, stormes, and il weather) we called *Limbo*. Repairing our fore saile with
our

*An extreame
gust.*

Ruffels Iles.

Wighcocomoco.

*An extreame
want of fresh
water.*

*The barge nere
sunk in a gust.*

our shirts, we set saile for the maine & fel with a faire river on the East called *Kuskaranaocke*, by it inhabit the people of *Soraphanigh*, *Nause*, *Arsck*, and *Nautaquake* that much extolled a great nation called *Massawomekes*, in search of whome wee returned by Limbo, but finding this easterne shore shallow broken Iles, & the maine for most part without fresh water, we passed by the straights of Limbo for the weasterne shore So broad is the bay here, that we could scarce perceiue the great high Cliffes on the other side; by them wee anchored that night, and called them Richards Cliffes. 30 leagues we sailed more Northwards, not finding any inhabitants, yet the coast well watred, the mountaines very barrē, the vallies very fertil, but the woods extreame thicke, full of Woolues, Beares, Deare, and other wild beasts. The first inlet we found, wee called *Bolus*, for that the clay (in many places) was like (if not) Bole-Armoniacke: when we first set saile, some of our gallants doubted nothing, but that our Captaine would make too much hast home; but hauing lien not about 12 daies in this smal Barge, oft tired at their oares, their bread spoiled with wet, so much that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomacks that they could digest it) did with continuall complaints so importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeake them in this manner. Gentlemen if you would remember the memorable historie of Sir *Ralfe Lane*, how his company importuned him to proceed in the discoverie of *Morattico*, alleaging, they had yet a dog, that being boyled with Saxafras leaues, would richly feed the in their returnes; what a shame would it be for you

The first notice of the *Massawomekes*.

Bolus river.

Smiths speech to his souldiers.

(that haue beene so suspitious of my tenderesse) to force me returne with a months provision scarce able to say where we haue bin, nor yet heard of that wee were sent to seeke; you cannot say but I haue shared with you of the worst is past; and for what is to come of lodging, diet, or whatsoever, I am contented you allot the worst part to my selfe; as for your feares, that I will lose my selfe in these vnknowne large waters, or be swallowed vp in some stormie gust, abandon those childish feares, for worse then is past cannot happen, and there is as much danger to returne, as to proceed forward. Regaine therefore your old spirits; for return I wil not, (if God assist me) til I haue scene the *Massawomeckes*, found *Patawomeck*, or the head of this great water you conceit to be endlesse. 3 or 4 daies wee expected wind and weather, whose aduerser extremities added such discouragements to our discontents as 3 or 4 fel extreame sicke, whose pittiful complaints caused vs to returne, leauing the bay some 10 miles broad at 9 or 10 fadome water.

The discovery of Patawomeck.

The 16 of Iune we fel with the river of *Patawomeck* feare being gon, and our men recovered, wee were all contented to take some paines to knowe the name of this 9 mile broad river, we could see no inhabitants for 30 myles saile; then we were conducted by 2 Salvages vp a little bayed creeke toward *Onawmament* where all the woods were laid with Ambuscades to the number of 3 or 400 Salvages, but so strangely painted, grimed, and disguised, showing, yelling, and crying, as we rather supposed them so many diuels, they made many bravadoes, but to appease their

Ambuscades of Salvages.

their furie , our Captaine prepared with a seeming willingnesse(as they) to encounter them , the grazing of the bullets vpon the river , with the ecco of the woods so amazed them,as down went their bowes & arrowes;(and exchanging hostage) *James Watkins* was sent 6 myles vp the woods to their kings habitation:wee were kindly vsed by these Salvages , of whome wec vnderstood , they were commaunded to betray vs , by *Powhatans* direction, and hee so directed from the discontents of *Iames* towne. The like incounters we found at *Patawomeck* *Cecocawone* & divers other places , but at *Moyaones* *Nacothlant* and *Taux*, the people did their best to content vs. The cause of this discovery,was to search a glistering metal, the Salvages told vs they had from *Patawomeck*, (the which *Newport* assured that he had tryed to hold halfe siluer)also to search what furies, metals, riuers, Rockes nations,woods,fishings,fruits, victuals and other commodities the land afforded, and whether the bay were endlesse,or how farre it extended. The mine we found 9 or 10 myles vp in the coutry from the river, but it proved of no value: Some Otters, Beavers, Martins, Lufwarts, and sables we found, and in diuers places that abundāce of fish lying so thicke with their heads aboue the water,as for want of nets (our barge driving amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan, but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with. Neither better fish more plenty or variety had any of vs ever seene, in any place swimming in the water, then in the bay of *Chesapeack* , but there not to be caught with frying-pans. To expresse al our

*A treacherous
project.*

Antimony.

*An abundanz
plentie of fish.*

*How to deale
with the Salva
ges.*

*A Stingray very
burisfull.*

quarrels, treacheries & incounters amongst those Salvages, I should be too tedious; but in brieft at all times we so incourtred thē & curbed their insolencies, as they concluded with presents to purchase peace, yet wee lost not a man, at our first meeting our captaine ever observed this order to demaunde their bowes and arrowes swords mantles or fures, with some childe for hostage, wherby he could quickly perceiue when they intended any villany. Having finished this discovery (though our victuall was neare spent) he intended to haue seene his imprisonments, acquaintance vpon the river of *Toppahannock*. But our boate (by reason of the ebbe) chancing to ground vpon a many shoules lying in the entrance, we spied many fishes lurking amongst the weedes on the sands, our captaine sporting himselfe to catch them by nailing thē to the ground with his sword, set vs all a fishing in that māner, by this devise, we tooke more in an houre then we all could eat; but it chanced, the captaine taking a fish frō his sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the fashion of a Thornebacke with a longer taile, whereon is a most poysoned sting of 2. or 3 inches long, which shee strooke an inch and halfe into the wrist of his arme the which in 4. houres had so extreamly swolne his hand, arme, shoulder, and part of his body, as we al with much sorrow concluded his funerall, and prepared his graue in an Ile hard by (as himselfe appointed) which then wee called stingeray Ile after the name of the fish. Yet by the helpe of a precious oile Doctour *Russels* applyed, ere night his tormenting paine was so wel asswaged that he eate the fish to his supper, which
gauc

gaue no lesse ioy and content to vs, then ease to him-
felfe. Having neither Surgeō nor surgerie but that pre-
servatiue oile, we presently set saile for Iames Towne;
passing the mouth of *pyankatazck*, & *Pamavunke* rivers,
the next day we safely arrived at *Kecoughtan*. The sim-
ple Salvages, seeing our captaine hurt, and another
bloudy (which came by breaking his shin) our number
of bowes, arrowes, swords, targets, mantles and furs;
would needs imagine we had bin at warres, the truth
of these accidents would not satisfie them) but impa-
ciently they importuned vs to know with whom wee
fought finding their aptnes to beleue, we failed not
(as a great secret) to tel them any thing that might af-
fright them what spoile wee had got and made of the
Masawomeckes, this rumor went faster vp the river thē
our barge; that arrived at *wera/koyack* the 20. of Iulie,
where trimming her with painted streamers, and such
devises we made the fort icalous of a Spanish frigate;
where we all safely arrived the 21. of Iuly, there wee
found the last supply, al sicke, the rest, some lame, some
bruised, al vnable to do any thing, but complain of the
pride and vnreasonable needlesse cruelty of their sillie
President, that had riotously consumed the store, & to
fulfill his follies about building him an vnecessarie
pallace in the woods had brought them all to that mi-
serie; That had not we arrived, they had as strangely
tormented him with revenge. But the good newes of
our discovery, and the good hope we had (by the Sal-
vages relation) our Bay had stretched to the South-
sea, appeased their fury; but conditionally that *Ratliffe*
should be deposed, & that captaine *Smith* would take

*The Salvages
affrighted with
their owne sus-
pition.*

*A needlesse mi-
serie.*

vpon

*The company
left to live at
ease.*

vpō him the government; their request being effected, hee Substituted *Mr Scrivener* his deare friend in the Presidencie, equally distributing those private provisions the other had ingrossed; appointing more honest officers to assist *Scrivener*, (who then lay extreamelie tormented with a callenture) & in regard of the weaknes of the company, and heat of the yeare they being vnable to worke; he left them to liue at ease, but imbarcked himselfe to finish his discovery.

Written by Walter Russell and Anas Todkill.

CHAP. 6.

*What happened the second voyage to
discover the Bay.*

THE 20. of Iuly Captaine *Smith* set forward to finish the discovery with 12. men their names were

<i>Nathaniell Powell.</i>	}	Gent.
<i>Thomas Momford.</i>		
<i>Richard Fetherstone.</i>		
<i>Michaell Sicklemore.</i>		
<i>James Bourne.</i>	}	Sould.
<i>Anas Toakill.</i>		
<i>Edward Pysing.</i>		
<i>Richard Keale.</i>		
<i>Anthony Bagnall.</i>		
<i>James Watkins.</i>		
<i>William Ward.</i>		
<i>Jonas Profit.</i>		

The winde beeing contrary caused our stay 2. or 3. daies

daies at *Kecoughtā* the *werowans* feasting vs with much mirth, his people were perswaded we went purposefully to be reuenged of the *Massawomeckes*, in the evening we firing 2. or 3. rackets, so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing impossible wee attempted, and desired to assist vs. The first night we anchored at *Stingeray Ile*, the nexte day crossed *Patawomecks* riuer, and halted for the riuer *Bolus*, wee went not much farther before wee might perceiue the Bay to deuide in 2. heads, and arriving there we founde it deuided in 4, all which we searched so far as we could saile them; 2. of them wee found uninhabited, but in crossing the bay to the other, wee incountered 7. or 8. Canowes-full of *Massawomecks*, we seeing them prepare to assault vs, left our oares & made way with our saile to incoüter them, yet were we but fiue (with our captaine) could stand; or within 2. daies after wee left *Kecoughtan*, the rest (being all of the last supply) were sicke almost to death, (vntill they were seasoned to the country) hauing shut them vnder our tarpawling, we put their hats vpon stickes by the barge side to make vs seeme many, and so we thinke the Indians supposed those hats to be men, for they fled with all possible speed to the shoare, and there stayed, staring at the sailing of our barge, till we anchored right against them. Long it was ere we could drawe them to come vnto vs, at last they sent 2 of their company vnarmed in a Canowe, the rest all followed to second them if need required; These 2. being but each presented with all beel, brought aborde all their fellowes, presenting the captain with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrows,

*The Salvages
admire fire-
workes.*

*The head of the
Bay.*

*An incounter
with the Massa
womecks.*

clubs, targets, and beare-skins ; wee vnderstood them nothing at all but by signes, whereby they signified vn to vs they had been at warres with the *Tockwogs* the which they confirmed by shewing their green woūds; but the night parting vs, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete, but after that we never saw them.

*An incounter
with the Tock-
wog.*

Entring the River of *Tockwogh* the Saluages all armed in a flete of Boates round inuironed vs ; it chanced one of them could speake the language of *Powhatan* who perswaded the rest to a friendly parly : but when they see vs furnished with the *Massawomeckes* weapons, and we faining the inuention of *Kecoughtan* to haue taken them perforce ; they conducted vs to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barkes of trees, with Scaffolds like mounts, brested about with Barks very formally, their men, women, and children, with dances, songs, fruits, fish, fures, & what they had kindly entertained vs, spreading mats for vs to sit on, stretching their best abilities to expresse their loues.

*Hatchets from
Sasquesahanock*

Many hatchets, kniues, & peeces of yron, & brasse, we see, which they reported to haue from the *Sasquesahanockes* a mighty people, and mortall enimies with the *Massawomeckes*; The *Sasquesahanocks*, inhabit vpon the chiefe spring of these 4. two daies iourney higher then our Barge could passe for rocks. Yet we preuailed with the interpreter to take with him an other interpreter to perswade the *Sasquesahanocks* to come to visit vs, for their language are different: 3. or 4. daies we expected their returne then 60. of these giantlike-people came downe with presents of venison, Tobacco pipes,

pipes, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrows, 5 of their *werowances* came boldly aboard vs, to crosse the bay for *Tockwogh*, leaving their men and Canowes, the winde being so violent that they durst not passe.

Our order was, dayly to haue prayer, with a psalm, at which solemnitie the poore Salvages much wondered: our prayers being done, they were long busied with consultation till they had contrived their businesse; then they began in most passionate manner to hold vp their hands to the sunne with a most feareful song, then imbracing the Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner, though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded til their song was finished, which done with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voice began an oratiō of their loues; that ended, with a great painted beares skin they covered our Captaine, then one ready with a chaine of white beads (waighing at least 6 or 7 pound) hung it about his necke, the others had 18 mantles made of divers sorts of skinnes sowed together, all these with many other toyes, they laid at his feet, stroking their ceremonious handes about his necke for his creation to be their governour, promising their aids, victuals, or what they had to bee his, if he would stay with them to defend and revenge them of the *Massawomecks*; But wee left them at *Tockwogh*, they much sorrowing for our departure, yet wee promised the next yeare againe to visit them; many descriptions and discourses they made vs of *Atquana-hucke*, *Massawomecke*, and other people, signifying they inhabit the river of *Cannida*, and from the French to haue their hatchets, and such like tooles by trade,

The Sasquesahannocks offer to the English.

Cannida.

these knowe no more of the territories of *Powhatan* then his name, and he as little of them.

Thus hauing sought all the inlets and rivers worth noting, we returned to discover the river of *Pawtuxunt*, these people we found very tractable, and more ciuill then any, wee promised them, as also the *Patawomecks*, the next yeare to revenge them of the *Massawomecks*. Our purposes were crossed in the discoverie of the river of *Toppahannock*, for wee had much wrangling with that peevish nation; but at last they became as tractable as the rest. It is an excellent, pleasant, well inhabited, fertill, and a goodly navigable river, toward the head thereof; it pleased God to take one of our sicke (called *M. Fetherstone*) where in *Fetherstons bay* we buried him in the night with a volly of shot; the rest (notwithstanding their ill diet, and bad lodging, crowded in so small a barge in so many dangers, never resting, but alwaies tossed to and againe) al well recovered their healthes; then we discovered the river of *Payankitank*, and set saile for *James Towne*; but in crossing the bay in a faire calme, such a suddaine gust surprised vs in the night with thunder and raine, as wee were halfe imployed in freeing out water, never thinking to escape drowning yet running before the winde, at last we made land by the flashes of fire from heaven, by which light only we kept from the splitting shore, vntil it pleased God in that black darknes to preserue vs by that light to find *Point comfort*, and arived safe at *James Towne*, the 7 of September, 1608. where wee found *M. Skriuener* and diuerse others well recovered, many dead, some sicke. The late President prisoner for

mute-

Pawtuxunt. R.

Toppahannock. R.

Fetherstone buried.

Payankitank discovered.

Their proceedings at James Towne.

muteny, by the honest diligence of M. *Skrivener* the harvest gathered, but the stores, provision, much spoiled with raine. Thus was that yeare (when nothing wanted) consumed and spent and nothing done; (such was the government of Captain *Ratliffe*) but only this discoverie, wherein to expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounters this small number passed in that small barge, with such watrie diet in these great waters and barbarous Countries (til then to any Christian vtterly vnknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced reader, then I would be tedious, or partiall, being a partie;

By *Nathaniell Poell*, and *Anas Todkill*.

CHAP. 7.

*The Presidencie surrendered to Captaine Smith
the arrivall and returne of the second supply:
and what happened.*



He 10. of September 1608. by the election of the Councel, & request of the company Captaine *Smith* received the letters patents, and tooke vpon him the place of President, which till then by no meanes he would accept though hee were often importuned therevnto. Now the building of *Ratcliffes* pallas staide as a thing needlesse; The church was repaired, the storehouse recovered; building prepared for the supply we expected. The fort reduced to the forme of this figure, the order of watch renewed, the squadrons (each setting of the watch) trained. The

OVERE, 8.

whole company every Saturday exercised in a field prepared for that purpose; the boates trimmed for trade which in their Iourney encountred the second supply, that brought them back to discover the country of *Monacan*, how, or why, Captaine *Newport* obtained such a private commission as not to returne without a lumpe of gold, a certainty of the south sea or one of the lost company of *Sr Walter Rawley* I know not, nor why he brought such a 5 pieced barge, not to beare vs to that south sea, till we had borne her over the mountaines: which how farre they extend is yet vnknowne) as for the coronation of *Powhatan* & his presents of Bason, Ewer, Bed, Clothes, and such costly nouelties, they had bin much better well spared, then so ill spent. For we had his favour much better, onlie for a poore peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting made him so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected vs as much as nothing at all; as for the hiring of the Poles and Dutch to make pitch and tarre, glasse, milles, and sope-ashes, was most necessarie and well. But to send them and seauenty more without victuall to worke, was not so well considered; yet this could not haue hurt vs, had they bin 200. (though the we were 130 that wanted for our selues.) For we had the Salvages in that Decorum, (their haruest beeing newly gathered) that we feared not to get victuall sufficient had we bin 500. Now vvas there no way to make vs miserable but to neglect that time to make our provision, whilst it was to be had; the which vvas done to perfourme this strange discovery, but more strange coronation; to loose that time, spend that victuall

*Powhatans
scorne when his
curtesie was
most deserved*

*No way but one
to overthrowe
the busines.*

Et uall we had, tire & starue our men, having no means to carry victuall, munition, the hurt or sicke, but their owne backs, how or by whom they vvere invented I know not; But Captaine *Newport* we only accounted the author, vvhoe to effect these proiects had so gilded all our hopes, vwith great promises, that both company and Councel concluded his resolution. I confesse we little vnderstood then our estates, to conclude his conclusion, against al the inconueniences the foreseeing President alleadged. There was added to the counsell one Captaine *Waldo*, and Captaine *Winne* two ancient souldiers and valiant gentlemen, but ignorant of the busines (being newly arrived) *Ratcliffe* vvas also permitted to haue his voice, & *M^r Scrivener* desirous to see strange countries, so that although *Smith* was President, yet the Councell had the authoritie, and ruled it as they listed; as for clearing *Smiths* obiections, how pitch, and tarre, wanscot, clapbord, glasse, & sope ashes, could be provided to relade the ship; or provision got to liue withal, when none was in the Country and that which we had, spent before the ships departed; The answer was, Captaine *Newport* vndertook to fraught the Pinnace with corne, in going and returning in his discoverie, and to refraught her lagaine frō *Wenaxocomoco*; also promising a great proportion of victuall from his ship, inferring that *Smiths* propositions were only devises to hinder his iourney, to effect it himselfe; and that the crueltie *Smith* had vsed to the Salvages, in his absence, might occasion them to hinder his designes; For which, al workes were left; and 120 chosen men were appointed for his guard,
and

*Captaine Smith
with 4 goeth to
Powhatan.*

and *Smith*, to make cleere these seeming suspicions, that the Salvages were not so desperat, as was pretended by *Captaine Newport*, and how willing he was to further them to effect their projects, (because the coronation would consume much time / vnderooke their message to *Powhatan*, to intreat him to come to *James Towne* to receiue his presents, accompanied only with *Captaine Waldo*, *M. Andrew Buckler*, *Edward Brinton*, & *Samuell Collier*; with these 4 hee went over land, against *Werawocomoco*, there passed the river of *Pamunke* in the Salvages Canowes, *Powhatan* being 30 myles of, who, presently was sent for, in the meane time his women entertained *Smith* in this manner.

*The womens entertainment at
Werawocomoco*

In a faire plaine field they made a fire, before which he sitting vppon a mat; suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hideous noise and shrieking, that they betooke them to their armes, supposing *Powhatan* with all his power came to surprize them; but the beholders which were many men, women, & children, satisfied the *Captaine* there was no such matter, being presently presented with this anticke, 30 young women came naked out of the woods (only covered behind and before with a few greene leaues) their bodies al painted, some white, some red, some black, some partie colour, but every one different. their leader had a faire paire of stagges hornes on her head, and an otter skinne at her girdle, another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, and bow and arrowes in her hand, the next in her had a sword, another a club, another a pot-stick, all hornd alike, the rest every one with their severall devises. These feindes with most hellish
cries

cries, and shouts rushing from amongst the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing, and dauncing with excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and then solemnely againe to sing, and daunce. Having spent neere an houre, in this maskarado; as they entered; in like manner departed; hauing reaccommodated themselves, they solemnely invited *Smith* to their lodging, but no sooner was hee within the house, but all these Nymphes more tormented him then ever, with crowding, and pressing, and hanging vpon him, most tediously crying, loue you not mee. This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of fruit in baskets, fish & flesh in wooden platters, beans and pease there wanted not (for 20 hogges) uor any Salvage daintie their invention could devise; some attending, others singing and dancing about them; this mirth and banquet being ended, with firebrands (instead of torches) they conducted him to his lodging.

The next day came *Powhatan*; *Smith* delivered his Captain Smiths message. message of the presents sent him, and redelivered him *Namontack*, desiring him come to his Father *Newport* to accept those presents, and conclude their revenge against the *Monacans*, wherevnto the subtile Salvage thus replied.

If your king haue sent me presents, I also am a king, Powhatans answer. and this my land, 8 daies I will stay to receaue them, your father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort, neither will I bite at such a baite: as for the *Monacans*, I can revenge my owne iniuries, and as for *Atquanuchuck*, where you say your brother was slain, it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it.

G

But

But for any salt water beyond the mountaines, the relations you haue had from my people are false, where vpon he began to draw plots vpon the ground (according to his discourse) of all those regions; many other discourses they had (yet both desirous to giue each other content in Complementall courtesies) and so Captaine *Smith* returned with this answer.

Powhatans Coronation.

Vpon this Captaine *Newport* sent his presents by water, which is neare 100 miles, with 50 of the best shot, himselfe went by land which is but 12 miles, where he met with our 3 barges to transport him over. All things being fit for the day of his coronation, the presents were brought, his bason, ewer, bed & furniture set vp, his scarlet cloake and apparel (with much adoe) put on him (being perswaded by *Namontacke* they would doe him no hurt.) But a fowle trouble there was to make him kneele to receaue his crowne, he neither knowing the maiestie, nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, indured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tired them all. At last by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and *Newport* put the Crowne on his head. When by the warning of a pistoll, the boates were prepared with such a volly of shot, that the king start vp in a horrible feare, till he see all was well, then remembering himselfe, to congratulate their kindnesse, he gaue his old shoes and his mantle to Captain *Newport*. But perceiuing his purpose was to discover the *Monacans*, hee laboured to divert his resolution, refusing to lend him either men, or guides, more then *Namontack*, and so (after some complementall kindnesse
on

on both sides) in requitall of his presents, he presented *Newport* with a heape of wheat eares, that might contain some 7 or 8 bushels, & as much more we bought ready dressed in the towne, wherewith we returned to the fort.

The ship having disburdened her selfe of 70 persons, with the first gentlewoman, and woman servant that arrived in our Colony; Captaine *Newport* with all the Councell, and 120 chosen men, set forward for the discovery of *Monacan*, leaving the President at the fort with 80. (such as they were) to relade the shippe. Arriving at the falles, we marched by land some forty myles in 2 daies and a halfe, and so returned downe to the same path we went. Two townes wee discovered of the *Monacans*, the people neither vsing vs well nor ill, yet for our securitie wee tooke one of their pettie *werowances*, and lead him bound, to conduct vs the way. And in our returne searched many places wee supposed mynes, about which we spent some time in refining, having one *William allicut* a refiner, fitted for that purpose, from that crust of earth wee digged hee perswaded vs to beleue he extracted some smal quantitie of silver (and not vnlikely better stufte might bee had for the digging) with this poore trial being contented to leaue this faire, fertill, well watred cuntrye. Cōming to the Falles, the Salvages fained there were diverse ships come into the Bay to kill them at *James Towne*. Trade they would not, and find their corn we could not, for they had hid it in the woods, and being thus deluded we arrived at *James Towne*, halfe sicke, all complaining, and tired with toile, famine, and dif-

*The discovery
of Monacan.*

cōtent, to haue only but discovered our gilded hopes, and such fruitlesse certainties, as the President foretold vs.

No sooner were we landed, but the President dispersed many as were able, some for glasse, others for pitch, tarre and sope ashes, leaving them, (with the fort) to the Councels oversight. But 30 of vs he cōducted 5. myles from the fort to learn to make clapbord, cut downe trées, and ly in woods; amongst the rest he had chosen *Gabriell Beadell*, & *John Russell* the only two gallants of this last supply, and both proper gentlemen: strange were these pleasures to their conditions, yet lodging eating, drinking working, or playing they doing but as the President, all these things were carried so pleasantly, as within a weeke they became Masters, making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell, but the axes so oft blistered there tender fingers, that commonly every third blow had a lowd oath to drowne the eccho; for remedy of which sin the President devised howe to haue everie mans oathes numbred, and at night, for every oath to haue a can of water povvred downe his sleeue, vvith vvhich every offender vvvas so vvashed (himselſe & all) that a man should scarce heare an oath in a weeke.

*A punishment
for swearing.*

By this, let no mā think that the President, or these gentlemen spent their times as common wood hackers at felling of trees, or such like other labours, or that they were pressed to any thing as hirelings or cōmon slaues, for what they did (being but once a little inured) it seemed, and they conceited it only as a pleasure and a recreation, Yet 30 or 40 of such voluntary

Gen^s

Gentlemen would doe more in a day then 100 of the rest that must bee prest to it by compulsion. One gentleman better then 20 lubbers, Master *Scrivener*, Captaine *Waldo*, and Captaine *Winne* at the fort, every one in like manner carefully regarded their charge. The President returning from amongst the woodes, seeing the time consumed, and no provision gotten, (and the ship lay Idle, and would do nothing) presently imbarked himselfe in the discovery barge, giving order to the Coucell, to send *Mr Persy* after him with the next barge that arrived at the fort; 2. barges, he had himselfe, and 20. mē, but arriving at *Chickahamina* that dogged nation, was too well acquainted with our wants, refusing to trade, with as much scorne and insolencie as they could expresse. The President perceiving it was *Powhatans* policy to starue vs, told them he came not so much for their corne, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the death of his men murdered by them, & to landing his men, and ready to charge them, they immediatly fled; but then they sent their imbassadors, with corne, fish, fowl, or what they had to make their peace, (their corne being that year bad) they complained extreamly of their owne wants, yet fraughted our boats with 100 bushels of corne, and in like manner *Mr Persies*, that not long after vs arriued; they having done the best they could to content vs, within 4. or 5. daies we returned to James Towne.

The Chickahamines forced to contridition.

Though this much contented the company (that then feared nothing but starving) yet some so envied his good successe, that they rather desired to starue, the his paines should proue so much more effectuell then

A bad reward for well doing.

theirs; some projects there was, not only to haue deposed him but to haue kept him out of the fort, for that being President, he would leaue his place, and the fort without their consents; but their hornes were so much too short to effect it, as they themselues more narrowly escaped a greater mischiefe.

*A good tauerne
in Virginia.*

All this time our old tauerne, made as much of all them that had either mony or ware as could bee desired; and by this time they were become so perfect on all sides (I meane Souldiers, Sailers, and Salvages,) as there was ten-times more care, to maintaine their dānable and private trade, then to provide for the Colony things that were necessary, neither was it a small pollicy in the mariners, to report in England wee had such plenty and bring vs so many men without victuall, when they had so many private factors in the fort, that within 6. or 7. weekes after the ships returne, of 2. or 300. hatchets, chissels, mattocks, and pickaxes scarce 20 could be found, and for pike-heads, knives,

*A bad trade of
masters and sail-
lers.*

shot, powder, or any thing (they could steale frō their fellowes) was vendible; They knew as well (and as secretly) how to conuay them to trade with the Salvages, for fures, baskets, mussaneekes, young beastes or such like commodities, as exchange them with the sailers, for butter, cheese, biese, porke, aquavitę, beere, bisket, and oatmeale; and then faine, all was sent thē frō their friends. And though Virginia afford no furs for the store, yet one mariner in one voyage hath got so many, as hee hath confessed to haue solde in England for 30^l.

Those are the Saint-seeming worthies of *Virginia*,
that

that haue notwithstanding all this, meate, drinke, and pay, but now they begin to grow weary, their trade being both perceived and prevented; none hath bin in Virginia (that hath observed any thing) which knowes not this to be true, and yet the scorne, and shame was the poore souldiers, gentlemen and carelesse gouernours, who were all thus bought and solde, the adventurers cousened, and the action overthrowne by their false excuses, informations, and directions, by this let all the world Iudge, how this businesse coulde prosper, being thus abused by such pilfering occasions.

The proceedings and accidents, with the second supply.

Mr Scrivener was sent with the barges and Pinas to Weramocomoco, where he found the Salvages more ready to fight then trade, but his vigilancy was such, as prevented their proiectes, and by the meanes of Namontack got 3. or 4. hogsheads of corne, and as much Red paint which (then) was esteemed an excellent die.

Scrivener's voyage to Weramocomoco.

Captaine Newdort being dispatched with the tryals of pitch, tarre, glasse, frankincense, and sope ashes, with that clapbord and wainscot could bee provided met with Mr Scrivener at point Comfort, & so returned for England, leaving vs in all 200. with those hee brought vs.

The names of those in this supply are these.

Captaine Peter Winne. } were appointed to bee
Captaine Richard Waldo. } of the Councell.

M^o

*The proceedings and accidents**Mr Francis West.**Thomas Graues.**Rawley Chroshaw.**Gabriell Bedle.**John Russell.**John Bedle.**William Russell.**John Gudderington.**William Sambage.**Henry Collings.**Henry Ley.**Harmon Haryson.**Daniell Tucker.**Hugh Wollystone.**John Hoult.**Thomas Norton.**George Yarrington.**George Burton.**Henry Philpot.**Thomas Maxes.**Michael Lowicke.**Mr Hunt.**Thomas Forest.**William Downman.**John Dauxe.**Thomas Abbay.**Thomas Phelps.**John Part.**John Clarke.**Iefry Shortridge.*

Gent.

Dins

Dius Oconor.

Hugh Wynne.

Davi Vphus.

Thomas Bradley.

Iohn Burras.

Thomas Lavander.

Henry Bell.

Mr Powell.

Davi Ellys.

Thomas Gipson.

} Tradsm.

Thomas Dowse.

Thomas Mallard.

William Taler.

Thomas Fox.

Nicholas Hancock.

walker.

Williams.

Morrell.

Rose.

Scot.

Hardwin.

Milman.

Hellyard.

} Laborers.

} Boyes.

Mistresse Forest and Anne Buras her maide, 8. Dutchmen, and Poles with divers to the number of 70. persons.

Those poore conclusions so affrighted vs all with famine; that the President provided for Nansamund, ^{Nansamund forced to con-} tooke with him Captaine winne & Mr Scrivener (the ^{tribution.} returning from Captaine Newport), these people also

H

long

long denied him trade, (excusing themselves to be so commanded by *Powhatan*) til we were constrained to begin with them perforce, and then they would rather sell vs some, then wee should take all; so loading our boats, with 100. bushels we parted friends, and came to James Towne, at which time, there was a marriage betweene *John Laydon* and *Anna Burrowes* being the first marriage we had in *Virginia*.

*Appamatucke
discovered.*

Long he staid not, but fitting himselfe & captaine *Waldo* with 2. barges, from *Chawopo*, *weanocke* and all parts there, was found neither corne nor Salvage, but all fled (being Iealous of our intents) till we discovered the river and people of *Appametuck*, where we founde little that they had, we equally devided, betwixt the Salvages and vs (but gaue them copper in consideration *Mr*) *Persie*, and *Mr* *Scrivener* went also abroad but could finde nothing.

The President seeing this procastinating of time, was no course to liue, resolved with Captaine *Waldo*, (whom he knew to be sure in time of need) to surprize *Powhatan*, and al his provision, but the vnwillingnes of Captaine *Winne*, and *Mr* *Scrivener* (for some private respects) did their best to hinder their proiect: But the President whom no perswasions could perswade to starue, being invited by *Powhatan* to come vnto him, & if he would send him but men to build him a house, bring him a grinstone, 50. swords, some peeces, a cock and a hen, with copper and beads, he would loade his shippe with corne, the President not ignoraunt of his devises, yet vnwilling to neglect any opportunity, presently sent 3. Dutch-men and 2. English (having no vi-
ctuals

Etuals to imploy them, all for want therof being idle) knowing there needed no better castel, thē that house to surprize *Powhatā*, to effect this proiect he took order with Captaine *Waldo* to second him if need required; *Scrivener* he left his substitute; and set forth with the *Pinnas* 2. barges and six and forty men which on-ly were such as volentarily offered themselves for his iourney, the which (by reason of *Mr Scriveners* ill suc-esse) was censured very desperate, they all knowing *Smith* would not returne empty howsoever, caused many of those that he had appointed, to finde excu-ses to stay behinde.

CHAP. 8.

Captaine Smiths iourney to Pamaunke.

THE 29 of December hee set forward for *WERAWOCOMOCO*, his company were these.

In the Discovery barge, himselfe.

Robert Behethland.

Nathaniell Powell.

John Russell.

Rawly Crasshaw.

Michaell Sicklemore.

Richard Worlie.

Anas Todkill.

William Loue.

William Bentley.

Geoffery Shortridge.

Edward Pising.

William Varde.

Gent.

Sould.

In the Pinnace.

Mr George Persie, brother to the Earle of Northumberland, Mr Frauncis West, brother to the Lord De-la-Ware. William Phetiplace Captaine of the Pinnas.

Jonas Profit Master.

Robert Ford clarcke of the councell.

Michaell Phetiplace.

Geoffery Abbot Serg.

William Tankard.

George Yarrington.

James Bourne.

George Burton.

Thomas Coe.

Iohn Dods.

Edward Brinton.

Nathaniel Peacocke.

Henry Powell.

David Ellis.

Thomas Gipson.

Iohn Prat.

George Acrigge.

James Reade.

Nicholas Hancocke.

James Watkins.

Anthony Baggly Serg.

Thomas Lambert.

Edward Pising Serg.

4. Dutchmen and Richard Salvage were sent by land, to build the house for Powhatan against our arrivall.

This company being victualled but for 3. or 4. daies lod.

} Gent.

} Sould.

lodged the first night at *weraskoyack*, where the President tooke sufficient provision; This kind Salvage did his best to divert him from seeing *Powhatan*, but perceiving he could not prevaile, he advised in this maner *Captaine Smith*, you shall finde *Powhatan* to vse you kindly, but trust him not, and bee sure hee haue no opportunitye to seaze on your armes, for hee hath sent for you only to cut your throats; the Captaine thanked him for his good counsell, yet the better to try his loue, desired guides to *Chowanoke*, for he would send a present to that king to bind him his friend. To performe this iourney, was sent *Michael Sicklemore*, a very honest, valiant, and painefull souldier, with him two guides, and directions howe to search for the lost company of *S^r Walter Rawley*, and silke grasse: then wee departed thence, the President assuring the king his perpetuall loue, and left with him *Samuell Collier* his page to learne the language.

The good counsell of weraskoyack.

The next night being lodged at *Kecoughtan* 6 or 7 daies, the extreame wind, raine, frost, and snowe, caused vs to keepe Christmas amongst the Salvages, where wee were never more merrie, nor fedde on more plentie of good oysters, fish, flesh, wild foule, and good bread, nor never had better fires in England than in the drie warme smokie houses of *Kecoughtan*, But departing thence, when we found no houses, we were not curious in any weather, to lie 3 or 4 nights together vpon any shore vnder the trees by a good fire. 148 fowles the President, *Anth. Bagly*, and *Edward Pising*, did kill at 2 shoots. At *Kiskiack* the frost forced vs 3 or 4 daies also to suppress the insolencie of those

Plentie of victuals.

148 Fowles killed at 3 shoots.

proud Salvages; to quarter in their houses, and guard our barge, and cause them giue vs what wee wanted, yet were we but 12 with the President, and yet we never wanted harbour where we found any houses. The 12 of Ianuarie we arrived at *Werawocomoco*, where the river was frozen near halfe a mile from the shore; but to neglect no time, the President with his barge, so farre had approached by breaking the Ice as the eb left him amongst those oozie shoules, yet rather then to lie there frozen to death, by his owne example hee taught the to march middle deepe, more then a flight shot through this muddie froye ooze; when the barge floted he appointed 2 or 3 to returne her aboard the Pinnace, where for want of water in melting the salt Ice they made fresh water, but in this march *M. Russell* (whome none could perswade to stay behind) being somewhat ill, and exceeding heavie, so overtoiled himselfe, as the rest had much adoe (ere he got a shore) to regaine life, into his dead benumbed spirits, quartering in the next houses we found, we sent to *Powhatan* for provision, who sent vs plentie of bread, Turkie, & Venison. The next day hauing feasted vs after his ordinarie manner, he began to aske, when we would be gon, faining hee sent not for vs, neither had hee any corne, and his people much lesse, yet for 40 swords he would procure vs 40 bushels. The President shewing him the men there present, that brought him the message and conditions, asked him how it chaunced he became so forgetful, thereat the king concluded the matter with a merry laughter, asking for our commodities, but none he liked without gunnes and swords,

An ill march.

Powhatan subtelle.

valuing a basket of corne more pretious then a basket of copper, saying he could eat his corne, but not his copper.

Captaine *Smith* seeing the intent of this subtil Salvage; began to deale with him after this manner, *Powhatan*, though I had many courses to haue made my provision, yet beleeuing your promises to supply my wants, I neglected all, to satisfie your desire, and to testifie my loue, I sent you my men for your building, neglecting my owne: what your people had you haue engrossed, forbidding them our trade, and nowe you thinke by consuming the time, wee shall consume for want, not hauing to fulfill your strange demandes, as for swords, and gunnes, I told you long agoe, I had none to spare And you shall knowe, those I haue, can keepe me from want, yet steale, or wrong you I will not, nor dissolue that friendship, wee haue mutually promised, (except you constraîne mee by your bad vsage.

*Capt. Smithes
discourse to
Powhatan.*

The king hauing attētiuely listned to this discourse; promised, that both hee and his Country would spare him what they could, the which within 2 daies, they should receaue, yet Captaine *Smith*, (saith the king) some doubt I haue of your cōming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to relieue you as I would; for many do informe me, your comming is not for trade, but to invade my people and possesse my Country, w. no dare not come to bring you corne, seeing you thus armed with your men. To cleere vs of this feare, leaue aboard your weapons, for here they are needlesse we being all friends and for ever *Powhatans*.

*Powhatans re-
ply & flattery.*

With

With many such discourses they spent the day, quartring that night in the kings houses, the next day he reviewed his building, which hee little intended should proceed; for the Dutchmen finding his plenty, and knowing our want, and perceived his preparation to surprize vs, little thinking wee could escape, both him, and famine, (to obtaine his favour) revealed to him as much as they knew of our estates and projects, and how to prevent them; one of them being of so good a iudgement, spirit, and resolution, & a hireling that was certaine of wages for his labour, and ever well vsed, both he and his countrymen, that the President knewe not whome better to trust, & not knowing any fitter for that imploiment, had sent him as a spie to discover *Powhatan*s intent, then little doubting his honestie, nor could ever be certaine of his villany, till neare halfe a yeare after.

Whilſt we expected the comming in of the countrie, we wrangled out of the king 10 quarters of corne for a copper kettle, the which the President perceived him much to effect, valued it at a much greater rate, but (in regard of his scarcety) hee would accept of as much more the next yeare, or else the country of *Monacan*, the king exceeding liberall of that hee had not yeelded him *Monacan*. Wherewith each seeming well contented; *Powhatan* began to expostulate the difference betwixt peace and war, after this manner.

*Powhatan*s course of peace and warre. & Capraine *Smith* you may vnderstand, that I, hauing seene the death of all my people thrice, and not one living of those 3 generations, but my selfe, I knowe the difference of peace and warre, better then any in my
Coun-

Countrie. But now I am old, & ere long must die, my brethren, namely *Opichapam*, *Opechankanough*, and *Kekataugh*, my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others successours, I wish their experiences no lesse then mine, and your loue to them, no lesse then mine to you; but this brute from *Nansamud* that you are come to destroy my Countrie, so much affrighteth all my people, as they dare not visit you; what will it availe you, to take that perforce, you may quietly haue with loue, or to destroy them that provide you food? what can you get by war, when we can hide our provision and flie to the woodes, whereby you must famish by wronging vs your friends; & whie are you thus iealous of our loues, seeing vs vnarmed, and both doe, & are willing still to feed you with that you cannot get but by our labours? think you I am so simple not to knowe, it is better to eate good meate, lie well, and sleepe quietly with my women & childrē, laugh and be merrie with you, haue copper, hatchets, or what I want, being your friend; then bee forced to flie from al, to lie cold in the woods, feed vpon acorns roots, and such trash, and be so hunted by you, that I can neither rest, eat, nor sleepe; but my tired men must watch, and if a twig but breake, everie one crie there comes *Captaine Smith*, then must, I flie I knowe not whether, and thus with miserable feare end my miserable life; leauing my pleasures to such youths as you, which through your rash vnadvisednesse, may quickly as miserably ende, for want of that you never knowe how to find? Let this therefore assure you of our loues and everie yeare our friendly trade shall furnish you

I

with

with corne, & now also if you would come in friendly manner to see vs, and not thus with your gunnes & swords, as to invade your foes. To this subtil discourse the President thus replied.

C. Smiths reply

Seeing you will not rightly cōceave of our words, wee striue to make you knowe our thoughts by our deeds. The vow I made you of my loue, both my selfe and my men haue kept, as for your promise I finde it everie daie violated, by some of your subiects, yet wee finding your loue and kindnesse (our custome is so far from being vngratefull) that for your sake only, wee haue curbed our thirsting desire of revenge, else had they knowne as wel the crueltie we vse to our enemies as our true loue and currensie to our friendes. And I thinke your iudgement sufficient to conceiue as well by the adventures we haue vndertaken, as by the advantage we haue by our armes of yours: that had wee intended you anie hurt, long ere this wee coulde haue effected it; your people cōming to me at *James* towne, are entertained with their bowes and arrowes without exception; we esteeming it with you, as it is with vs, to weare our armes as our apparell. As for the dangers of our enemies, in such warres consist our chiefest pleasure, for your riches we haue no vse, as for the hiding your provision, or by your flying to the woods, we shall so vnadvisedly starue as you conclude, your friendly care in that behalfe is needlesse; for we haue a rule to finde beyond your knowledge.

Manie other discourses they had, til at last they began to trade, but the king seing his will would not bee admitted as a lawe, our gard dispersed, nor our men
dis-

disarmed, he (sighing) breathed his mind, once more in this manner.

Captaine *Smith*, I never vsed anie of *werowances*, so kindlie as your selfe; yet from you I receaue the least kindnesse of anie. Captaine *Newport* gaue me swords, copper, clothis, a bed, tooles, or what I desired, ever taking what I offered him, and would send awaie his gunnes when I intreated him: none doth denie to laie at my feet (or do) what I desire, but onclie you, of whō I can haue nothing, but what you regard not, and yet you wil haue whatsoever you demand. Captain *Newport* you call father, and so you call me, but I see for all vs both, you will doe what you list, and wee must both seeke to content you: but if you intend so friendlie as you saie, sende hence your armes that I may beleue you, for you see the loue I beare you, doth cause mee thus nakedlie forget my selfe.

*Powhatans im-
portunitie for to
haue them unar-
med, to betray
them.*

Smith seeing this Salvage but trifled the time to cut his throat: procured the Salvages to breake the ice, (that his boat might come to fetch both him and his corne) and gaue order for his men to come ashore, to haue surprised the king, with whom also he but trifled the time till his men landed, and to keepe him from suspition, entertained the time with this reply.

Powhatan, you must knowe as I haue but one God, I honour but one king; and I liue not here as your subiect, but as your friend, to pleasure you with what I can: by the gifts you bestowe on me, you gaine more then by trade; yet would you visite mee as I doe you, you should knowe it is not our customes to sell our curtesie as a vendible commoditie. Bring all your Country

*C Smiths dis-
course to delay
time, that hee
might surprise
Powhatan.*

with you for your gard, I will not dislike of it as being over iealous. But to content you, to morrow J will leaue my armes, and trust to your promise. I call you father indeed, and as a father you shall see J will loue you, but the smal care you had of such a child, caused my men perswade me to shift for my selfe.

*Powhatan's plot
to haue murde-
red Smith.*

By this time *Powhatan* hauing knowledge, his men were readie: whilst the ice was breaking, his luggage women, and children fledde, and to avoid suspicion, left 2 or 3 of his women talking with the Captaine, whilst he secretly fled, and his men as secretlie beset the house, which being at the instant discovered to Capt. *Smith*, with his Pistol, Sword & Target, he made such a passage amongst those naked diuels, that they fled before him some one waie some another, so that without hurt he obtained the Corps du-guard; when they perceiued him so well escaped, and with his 8 men (for he had no more with him) To the vttermost of their skill, they sought by excuses to dissemble the matter, and *Powhatan* to excuse his flight, and the suddaine coming of this multitude, sent our Captaine a greate bracelet, and a chaine of pearle, by an ancient Orator that bespoke vs to this purpose, (perceiuing then frō our Pinnace, a barge and men departing & comming vnto vs.) Captaine *Smith*, our *werowans* is fled, fearing your guns, & knowing when the ice was broken there would come more men, sent those of his to guard his corne from the pilfrie, that might happen without your knowledge: now though some bee hurt by your misprision, yet he is your friend, and so wil continue: and since the ice is open hee would haue you send a-

*A chaine of pearle
for a present.*

His excuse.

waie

waie your corne; and if you would haue his companie send also your armes, which so affrighteth this people, that they dare not come to you, as he hath promised they should: nowe having provided baskets for our men to carrie the corne, they kindlie offered their service to gard our armes, that none should steale them.

A great manie they were, of goodlie well appointed fellowes as grim as diuels; yet the verie sight of cocking our matches against them, and a few words, caused them to leaue their bowes & arrowes to our gard, and beare downe our corne on their own backes; wee needed not importune them to make quick dispatch. But our own barge being left by the ebb, caused vs to staie, till the midnight tide carried vs safe aboard, having spent that halfe night with such mirth, as though we never had suspected or intended any thing, we left the Dutchmen to build, *Brinton* to kil fowle for *Powhatan* (as by his messengers he importunately desired) and left directions with our men to giue *Powhatan* all the content they could, that we might inioy his company at our returne from *Pamaunke*.

Pretending to kill our men loded with baskets we forced the Salvages carrie them.

CHAP. 9.

How we escaped surprising at Pamaunke.



WE had no sooner set saile, but *Powhatan* returned, and sent *Adam* and *Francis* (2. stout Dutchmen) to the fort, who faining to *Captaine Vinne* that al things were well, and that *Captaine Smith* had vse for their armes, wherefore they requested newe

The dutchmen deceaue C. Smith

(the which were given them) they told him their coming was, for some extraordinary tooles and shift of apparell, by this colourable excuse, they obtained 6. or 7. more to their confederacie, such expert theefes, that presētly furnished thē with a great many swords, pike-heads, peeces, shot, powder and such like, they had Salvages at hand ready to carry it away, the next day they returned vnsuspected, leaving their confederates to follow, and in the interim, to convey them a competencie of all things they could, for which service they should liue with *Powhatan* as his chiefe affected: free from those miseries that would happen the Colony. *Samuell* their other consort, *Powhatan* kept for their pledge, whose diligence had provided them, 300. of their kinde of hatchets, the rest. 50. swords, 8. peeces, and 8. pikes: *Brinton*, & *Richard Salvage* seeing the Dutch-men so strangely diligent to accommodate the Salvages these weapons attempted to haue got to *James Towne*, but they were apprehended; within 2. or 3. daies we arrived at *Pamavunke*. the king as many daies, entertained vs with feasting and much mirth: & the day he appointed to begin our trade, the Presidēt, with *M^r Persie*, *M^r West*, *M^r Russell*, *M^r Beheathland*, *M^r Powell*, *M^r Crashaw*, *M^r Ford*, and some others to the number of 15. went vp to *Opechancanoughs* house (near a quarter of a mile from the river,) where we founde nothing, but a lame fellow and a boy, and all the houses about, of all things abandoned; not long we staide ere the king arrived, and after him came divers of his people loaded with bowes and arrowes, but such pinching commodities, and those esteemed at such a value

Opechancanoughs abandoned.

lue, as our Captaine beganne with him in this manner.

Opechananough the great loue you professe with your tongue, seemes meere deceipt by your actions; last yeare you kindly fraughted our ship, but now you haue invited me to starue with hunger. You know my want, and I your plenty, of which by some meanes I must haue part, remember it is fit for kings to keepe their promise, here are my commodities, wherof take your choice; the rest I will proportion, fit bargaines for your people.

Smiths speech to Opechananough.

The king seemed kindly to accept his offer; and the better to colour his proiect, sold vs what they had to our own cōtēt; promising the next day, more cōpany, better provided; (the barges, and Pinnaes being committed to the charge of *M^r Phetiplace*) the President with his old 15 marched vp to the kings house, where we found 4 or 5 men newly cōe with great baskets, not long after came the king, who with a strained cheerefulness held vs with discourse, what paines he had takē to keepe his promise; til *M^r Russell* brought vs in news that we were all betraied: for at least 6. or 700. of well appointed Indians had inuironed the house and beset the fields. The king coniecturing what *Russell* related, we could wel perceiue how the extremity of his feare bewrayed his intent: whereat some of our companie seeming disnaide with the thought of such a multitude; the Captaine encouraged vs after this manner.

700 Salvages beset the English being but 16.

Worthy countrymen were the mischiefes of my seeming-friends, no more then the danger of these enemies, I little cared, were they as many more, if you dare

Smiths speech to his company.

dare do, but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, our malicious councell with their open mouthed minions, will make mee such a peace-breaker (in their opinions) in Englād, as wil break my neck; I could wish those here, that make these seeme Saints, and me an oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wher in I pray aide me with your opinions; should wee begin with them and surprize this king, we cannot keep him and defend well our selues, if we should each kill our man and so proceede with al in this house; the rest will all fly, then shall we get no more, then the bodies that are slaine, and then starue for victuall: as for their fury it is the least danger; for well you know, (being alone assaulted with 2 or 300 of them) I made them cōpound to saue my life, and we are now 16 & they but 700. at the most, and assure your selues God wil so assist vs, that if you dare but to stande to discharge your peeces, the very smoake will bee sufficient to affright them; yet howsoever (if there be occasion) let vs fight like men, and not die like sheep; but first I will deale with them, to bring it to passe, we may fight for something, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion, promise me youle be valiant. The time not permitting any argument, all vowed, to execute whatsoever he attempted, or die; wherevpon the captaine, approaching the king bespoke him in this manner.

Smiths offer to
Opechanca-
nough. I see *Opechananough* your plot to murder me, but I feare it not, as yet your men and mine, haue done no harme, but by our directions. Take therefore your arms; you see mine; my body shalbe as naked as yours;
the

the Ile in your river is a fit place, if you be contented: and the conqueror (of vs two) shalbe Lord and Master over all our men; otherwaies drawe all your men into the field; if you haue not enough take time to fetch more, and bring what number you will, so everie one bring a basket of corne, against all which I will stake the value in copper; you see I haue but 15 men, & our game shalbe the conquerer take all.

The king, being guarded with 50 or 60 of his chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease *Smiths* suspicion of unkindnesse, by a great present at the dore, they intreated him to receiue. This was to draw him without the dore where the present was garded with (at the least 200 men and 30 lying vnder a greate tree (that lay thwart as a Barricado) each his arrow nocked ready to shoot; some the President commanded to go & see what kinde of deceit this was, and to receiue the present, but they refused to do it yet divers offered whom he would not permit; but commanding *M^r Persie* and *M^r West* to make good the house, tooke *M^r Poell* and *M^r Beheathland* to guard the dore, and in such a rage snatched the king by his vambrace in the midst of his men, with his pistoll ready bent against his brest: thus he led the trembling king, (neare dead with feare) amongst all his people, who delivering the Captaine his bow and arrowes, all his men were easily intreated to cast downe their armes, little dreaming anie durst in that manner haue vsed their king; who then to escape himselfe, bestowed his presents in goodsadnesse. And hauing caused all his multitude to approach disarmed; the President argued with them to this effect.

Opechancanough's devise to betray Smith,

The proceedings and accidents

I see you *Pamavunkies* the great desire you have to cut my throat; and my long suffering your iniuries, haue inboldened you to this presumption. The cause I haue forborne your insolencies, is the promise I made you (before the God I serue) to be your friend, till you giue me iust cause to bee your enimie. If I keepe this vow, my God will keepe me, you cannot hurt me; if I breake it he will destroie me. But if you shoot but one arrow, to shed one drop of blood of any of my men, or steale the least of these beades, or copper, (I spurne before me with my foot) you shall see, I wil not cease revenge, (if once I begin) so long as I can heare where to find one of your natiō that will not deny the name of *Pamavunke*; I am not now at *Rasseneac* (halfe drown'd with mire) where you tooke me prisoner, yet then for keeping your promise, and your good vsage, & saving my life, I so affect you, that your denials of your treacherie, doth half perswade me to mistake my selfe. But if I be the marke you aime at, here I stand, shoote hee that dare. You promised to fraught my ship ere I departed, and so you shall, or I meane to load her with your dead carkases; yet if as friends you wil come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you giue me the first occasion. Vpon this awaie went their bowes and arrowes, and men, women, and children brought in their commodities, but 2 or three houres they so thronged about the President, and so overweari'd him, as he retired himself to rest, leaving *M^r Beheathland* and *M^r Powel* to accept their presents; but some Salvage perceiving him fast asleepe, and the guard carelessly dispersed, 40 or 50 of their choice mē each

*The Salvages
dissemble their
intents.*

each with an English sword in his hand, began to enter the house, with 2 or 300 others that pressed to second them. The noise and hast they made in, did so shake the house, as they awoke him from his sleep, & being halfe amazed with this suddaine sight, betooke him straight to his sword and target, *Mr Crasshaw* and some other charging in like manner, they thronged faster backe, then before forward. The house thus clenfed, the king and his ancients, with a long oration came to excuse this intrusion. The rest of the day was spent with much kindnesse, the company againe renewing their presents of their best provision. And what soever we gaue them, they seemed well contented with it.

Their excuse & reconciliation.

Now in the meane while since our departure, this hapned at the fort, *Mr Scriuener* willing to crosse the surprizing of *Powhatan*; 9 daies after the Presidents departure, would needs visit the Ile of hogges, and took with him Captaine *Waldo* (though the President had appointed him to bee readie to second his occasions) with *Mr Anthony Gosnoll* and eight others; but so violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the boat sunke, but where or how, none doth knowe, for they were all drowned; onlie this was knowne, that the Skiffe was much overloaded, & would scarce haue lived in that extreame tempest, had she beene emptie; but by no perswasion hee could bee diverted, though both *Waldo* and 100 others doubted as it hapned. The Salvages were the first that found their bodies, which so much the more encouraged them to effect their proiects. To advertise the President of this heavie

The losse of Mr Scriuener and others with a Skiffe.

*Mr Wiffin his
iourney to the
President.*

newes, none could bee found would vndertake it, but the iourney was often refused of all in the fort, vntill *Mr Wiffin* vndertooke alone, the performance thereof, wherein he was encountred with many dangers & difficulties, and in all parts as hee passed (as also that night he lodged with *Powhatan*) perceived such preparation for warre, that assured him, some mischiefe was intended, but with extraordinarie bribes, and much trouble, in three daies travell at length hee found vs in the midst of these turmoiles. This unhappie newes, the President swore him to conceale from the rest, & so dissembling his sorrow, with the best countenance he could, when the night approached, went safely aboard with all his companie.

*Powhatan con-
straineth his me
to be trecherous*

*Their third at-
tempt to betray
vs.*

Now so extreamely *Powhatan* had threatned the death of his men, if they did not by some meanes kill *Captaine Smith*, that the next day they appointed the Countrie should come to trade vnarmed: yet vnwilling to be treacherous, but that they were constrained hating fighting, almost as ill as hāging such feare they had of bad successe. The next morning the sunne had not long appeared, but the fieldes appeared covered with people, and baskets to tempt vs ashore. The President determined to keepe aboard, but nothing was to bee had without his presence, nor they would not indure the sight of a gun; then the President seeing many depart, and being vnwilling to lose such a booty, so well contrived the Pinnace, and his barges with *Ambuscadoes*, as only with *Mr Persie*, *Mr West*, & *Mr Russell* armed, he went ashore, others vnarmed he appointed to receiue what was brought; the Salvages flocked

ked before him in heapes, and (the bancke serving as a trench for retreat) hee drewe them faire open to his ambuscadoes, for he not being to be perswaded to go to visit their king the King came to visit him with 2 or 300 men, in the forme of two halfe moons, with some 20 men, and many women loaded with great painted baskets; but when they approached somewhat neare vs their women and children fled; for when they had environed and beset the fieldes in this manner, they thought their purpose sure; yet so trembled with fear as they were scarce able to nock their arrowes; *Smith* standing with his 3 men readie bent beholding them, till they were within danger of our ambuscado, who, vpon the word discovered themselves, and he retiring to the banke; which the Salvages no sooner perceived but away they fled, esteeming their heeles for their best advantage.

That night we sent to the fort *Mr Crasshaw* and *M^r Foard*, who (in the mid way betweene *Werawocomoco* and the fort) met 4 or 5. of the Dutch mens confederates going to *Powhatan*, the which (to excuse those gentlemens Suspition of their running to the Salvages returned to the fort and there continued.

The Salvages hearing our barge depart in the night were so terrible affraide, that we sent for more men, (we having so much threatned their ruine, and the raising of their houses, boats and canowes) that the next day the king, sent our Captaine a chaine of pearle to alter his purpose; and stay his men, promising (though they wanted themselves) to fraught our ship, & bring it aboard to avoid suspition, so that 5 or 6 daies after,

*A chaine of
pearle sent to
obtaine peace.*

from al parts of the countrie within 10 or 12 miles, in the extreame cold frost, and snow, they brought vs provision on their naked backes.

*The President
Poysoned.
The offender pu-
nished.*

Yet notwithstanding this kindnesse and trade; had their art and poison bin sufficient, the President with *M^r West* and some others had been poysoned; it made thē sicke, but expelled it selfe; *Wecuttanow* a stout yong fellow, knowing hee was suspected for bringing this prelent of poison, with 40 or 50. of his choice companions (seeing the President but with a few men at *Potavuncat--*) so prowdlie braved it, as though he expected to incounter a revenge; which the President perceiving in the midst of his companie did not onlie beat, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him anie worse mischief; wherevpon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter, to haue so well escaped; and the townsmen remaining, presentlie fraughted our barge, to bee rid of our companies, framing manie excuses to excule *Wecuttanow* (being son to their chiefe king but *Powhatan*) and told vs if we would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliver him to vs to punish as wee pleased.

Men maie thinke it strange there should be this stir for a little corne, but had it been gold with more ease we might haue got it; & had it wanted, the whole colonie had starved. We maie be thought verie patient, to indure all those iniuries; yet onlie with fearing thē, we got what they had. Whereas if we had taken revenge, thē by their losse we should haue lost our selus. We searched also the countries of *Toughtanund* and

Mat-

Mattapamient, where the people imparted that little they had, with such complaints and tears from womē and children; as he had bin too cruell to be a Christian that would not haue bin satisfied, and moved with cōpassion. But had this happened in October, Novéber, and December, when that unhappie discoverie of *Monacan* was made, we might haue fraughted a ship of 40 tuns, and twice as much might haue bin had; from the rivers of *Toppahannock*, *Patawomeck* & *Pawtuxunt*.

*The Salvages
want to peo. say*

The maine occasion of our temporizing with the Salvages was to part friends, (as we did) to giue the lesse cause of suspitiō to *Powhatan* to fly; by whom we now returned, with a purpose, to haue surprised him & his provision, for effecting whereof, (when we came against the towne) the President sent *Mr Wiffin* and *Mr Coe*, a shore to discover and make waie for his intended proiect. But they found that those damned Dutchmen had caused *Powhatan* to abandon his new house, and *werawocomoco*, and to carrie awaie all his corne & provision; and the people, they found (by their means so ill affected, that had they not stood well vpon their guard, they had hardlie escaped with their liues. So the President finding his intention thus frustrated, & that there was nothing now to be had, and therefore an vnfit time to revenge their abuses, helde on his course for *James Towne*; we having in this Iornie (for 25^l of copper 50^l of Iron and beads) kept 40 men 6. weekes, and dailie feasted with bread, corne, flesh fish, and fowle, everie man having for his reward (and in consideration of his commodities) a months provision; (no trade being allowed but for the store,) and we delive-

*The Dutchmen
did much hurte.*

delivered at James Towne to the Cape-Merchant
279 bushels of corne.

Those temporall proceedings to some maie seeme too charitable; to such a dailie daring trecherous people: to others vnpleasant that we washed not the ground with their blouds, nor shewed such strange inventions, in mangling, murdering, ransaking, and destroying (as did the Spaniards) the simple bodies of those ignorant soules; nor delightful because not stuffed with relations of heaps, and mines of gold and silver, nor such rare commodities as the Portugals and Spaniards found in the East & West Indies. The wāt wherof hath begot vs (that were the first vndertakers) no lesse scorne and contempt, then their noble conquests & valiant adventures (beautified with it) praise and honor. Too much I confesse the world cannot attribute to their ever memorable merit. And to cleare vs from the worlds blind ignorant censure, these few words may suffice to any reasonably vnderstanding.

It was the Spaniards good hap to happen in those parts, where were infinite numbers of people, whoe had manured the ground with that providence, that it afforded victuall at all times: and time had brought them to that perfection, they had the vse of gold and silver, and the most of such commodities, as their countries afforded, so that what the Spaniard got, was only the spoile and pillage of those countrie people, and not the labours of their owne hands. But had those fruitfull Countries, beene as Salvage as barbarous, as ill peopled, as little planted, laboured and manured as *Virginia*, their proper labours (it is likely) would haue

pro-

produced as small profit as ours. But had *Virginia* bin peopled, planted, manured, and adorned, with such store of pretious Jewels, & rich commodities, as was the Indies: then had we not gotten, and done as much as by their examples might bee expected from vs, the world might then haue traduced vs and our merits, & haue made shame and infamy our recompence and reward.

But we chanced in a lande, even as God made it. Where we found only an idle, improvident, scattered people; ignorant of the knowledge of gold, or silver, or any commodities; & carelesse of any thing but frō hand to mouth, but for bables of no worth; nothing to encourage vs, but what accidentally wee found nature afforded. Which ere wee could bring to recompence our paines, defray our charges, and satisfie our adventurers, we were to discover the country, subdue the people, bring them to be tractable, civil, and industrious, and teach them trades, that the fruits of their labours might make vs recompence, or plant such colonies of our owne that must first make provisiō how to liue of themselves, ere they can bring to perfection the commodities of the countrie, which doubtles will be as commodious for England, as the west Indies for Spaine, if it be rightly managed; notwithstanding all our home-bred opinions, that will argue the contrarie, as formerly such like haue done, against the Spaniards and Portugals. But to conclude, against all rumor of opinion, I only say this, for those that the three first yeares began this plantation, notwithstanding al their factions, mutenies, and miseries, so gently corrected,

and well prevented) peruse the Spanish Decades, the relations of *M. Hacklut*, and tell mee how many ever with such smal meanes, as a barge of 2 Tunnes; sometimes with 7.8.9, or but at most 15 men did ever discover so many faire and navigable rivers; subiect so many severall kings, people, and nations, to obedience, & contribution with so little blood shed.

And if in the search of those Countries, wee had hapned where wealth had beene, we had as surely had it, as obedience and contribution, but if wee haue overskipped it, we will not envy them that shall chance to finde it. Yet can wee not but lament, it was our ill fortunes to end, when wee had but only learned how to begin, and found the right course how to proceed.

*By Rich. Wisfin, William Phettiplace, and
Anas Todkill.*

CHAP. IO.

*How the Salvages became subiect to
the English.*



When the shippes departed, al the provision of the store (but that the President had gotten) was so rotten with the last somers rain, and eaten with rats, and wormes, as the hogs would scarsely eat it, yet it was the souldiers diet, till our returnes: so that wee found

nothing done, but victuall spent, and the most part of our tooles, and a good part of our armes conveyed to the Salvages. But now, casting vp the store, & finding sufficient till the next harvest, the feare of Itarving was abandoned; and the company divided into tennes, fiftenees, or as the businesse required. 4 houres each day was spent in worke, the rest in pastimes and merry exercise; but the vntowardnesse of the greatest number, caused the President to make a generall assembly, and then he advised them as followeth.

Countrimen, the long experience of our late miseries, I hope is sufficient to perswade every one to a present correction of himselfe; and thinke not that either my pains, or the advēturers purses, will ever maintaine you in idlenesse and sloth; I speake not this to you all, for diverse of you I know deserue both honor and reward, better then is yet here to bee had: but the greater part must be more industrious, or starue, howsoever you haue bin heretofore tolerated by the authoritie of the Councell from that I haue often commanded you, yet seeing nowe the authoritie resteth wholly in my selfe; you must obey this for a law, that he that will not worke shall not eate (except by sicknesse he be disabled) for the labours of 30 or 40 honest and industrious men, shall not bee consumed to maintaine 150 idle varlets. Now though you presume the authoritie here is but a shaddow, and that I dare not touch the liues of any, but my own must answer it; the letters patents each week shall be read you, whose contents will tell you the cōtrary. I would wish you therefore without contempt seeke to obserue these orders

*The Presidents
advise to the
company.*

let downe: for there are nowe, no more Councells to protect you, nor curbe my indeauors . Therefore hee that offendeth let him assuredly expect his due punishment. Hee made also a table as a publike memoriall of every mans deserts, to encourage the good, and with shame to spuine on the rest to amendment. By this many became very industrious, yet more by severe punishment performed their businesse; for all were so tasked, that there was no excuse could preuaile to deceiue him, yet the Dutchmens consorts so closely still conuaid powder, shot, swords, and tooles, that though we could find the defect, we could not find by whom it was occasioned, till it was too late.

*The Dutchmens
plot to murder
Capt. Smith.*

All this time the Dutchmen remaining with *Powhatan*, received them, instructing the Salvages their vse. But their consorts not following them as they expected, (to knowe the cause, they sent Francis their companion (a stout young fellow) disguised Salvage like) to the glasse-house, (a place in the woods neere a myle from *James Towne*) where was the randavus for all their vn suspected villany, 40 men they procured of *Powhatan* to lie in Ambuscadoe for *Captaine Smith*, who no sooner heard of this Dutchman, but hee sent to apprehend him, who found he was gon, yet to crosse his returne to *Powhatan*, *Captaine Smith* presentiy dispatched 20 shot after him, and then returning but frō the glasse-house alone, hee incountred the king of *Paspabeigh*, a most strong stout Salvage, whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his ambush, seeing him only armed but with a fauchion, attempted to haue shot him; but the President prevented his shot
by

by grappling with him, and the Salvage as well prevented him for drawing his fauchion, and perforce bore him into the river to haue drowned him; long they struggled in the water, from whence the king perceiving two of the Poles vpon the sandes would haue fled; but the President held him by the haire & throat til the Poles came in; then seeing howe pittifully the poore Salvage begged his life, they conducted him prisoner to the fort. The Dutchman ere long was also brought in, whose villany, though all this time it was suspected, yet he fained such a formall excuse, that for want of language, *win* had not rightly vnderstood them, and for their dealings with *Powhatan*, that to saue their liues they were constrained to accommodate his armes, of whome he extreamely complained to haue detained them perforce; and that hee made this escape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to haue returned, but ouly walked in the woods to gather walenuts: yet for all this faire tale (there was so smal appearance of truth) hee went by the heeles; the king also he put in fetters; purposing to regaine the Dutch-men, by the saving his life; the poore Salvage did his best, by his daily messengers to *Powhatan*, but all returned that the Dutchmen would not returne, neither did *Powhatan* stay them, and bring them fiftie myles on their backes they were not able; daily this kings wiues children, and people, came to visit him with presents, which hee liberally bestowed to make his peace, much trust they had in the Presidents promise, but the king finding his gard negligent (though fettered) yet escaped; Captaine *win* thinking to pur-

*Smith taketh
the king of Pas-
sahigh prisoner*

lue him, found such troopes of Salvages to hinder his passages, as they exchanged many volies of shot for flights of arrowes. Captaine *Smith* hearing of this, in returning to the fort tooke two Salvages prisoners, the one called *Kemps*, the other *Kinsock*, the two most exact villaines in the countrie; with those, Captaine *Win*, and 50 chosen men attempted that night to haue regained the king, and revenged his iniurie, and so had done if he had followed his directions, or bin advised by those two villaines, that would haue betraied both their king and kindred for a peece of copper, but hee trifling away the night, the Salvages the next morning by the rising of the sunne, braved him come a shore to fight, a good time both sides let flie at other, but wee heard of no hurt, only they tooke two Canows, burnt the kings house and so returned.

*The Salvages
desire peace.*

The Preside nt fearing those bravadoes, would but encourage the Salvages, begun himselfe to trie his conclusions; whereby 6 or 7 Salvages were flaine, as many made prisoners; burut their houses, tooke their boats with all their fishing weares, and planted them at *James Towne* for his owne vse; and nowe resolved not to cease till he had revenged himselfe vpon al that had iniured him, but in his journey passing by *Paspahigh* towards *Chickahamina*, the Salvages did their best to draw him to their ambuscadoes but seeing him regardlessly passe their Countrey, all shewed themselves in their bravest manner, to rrie their valours, he could not but let flie, and ere he could land, the Salvages no sooner knewe him, but they threw downe their armes and desired peace; their Orator was a stout young mā
cal.

with the second supply in Virginia.

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*Gcanindge his
Oration.*

called *Ocanindge*, whose worthie discourse deserveth to be remembred; and this it was.

Captaine *Smith*, my master is here present in this company thinking it Captaine *win*, and not you; and of him hee intended to haue beene revenged, having never offended him: if hee haue offended you in escaping your imprisonment; the fishes swim, the fowles flie, and the very beastes strive to escape the snare and liue; them blame not him being a man, hee would entreat you remēber, your being a prisoner, what paines he tooke to saue your life; if since he hath iniured you he was compelled to it, but howsoever, you haue revenged it with our too-great losse, we perceiue & well knowe you intend to destroy vs, that are here to intreat and desire your friendship, and to enioy our houses and plant our fields, of whose fruit you shall participate, otherwise you will haue the worst by our absence, for we can plant any where, though with more labour, and we know you cannot liue if you want our harvest and that reliefe wee bring you; if you promise vs peace we will beleue you, if you proceed in revēg, we will abandon the Countrie. Vpon these tearmes the President promised them peace, till they did vs iniurie, vpon condition they should bring in provision, so all departed good friends, & so continued till *Smith* left the Countrie.

Ariving at *James Towne*, complaint was made to the President that the *Chickahaminos*, who al this while continued trade, and seemed our friendes, by colour thereof were the only theeues, and amongst other things, a pistol being stolne, and the theefe fled, there

A Saluage snatched at James Towne, and was recovert

was

were apprehended 2 proper young fellows that were brothers, knowne to be his cōfederats. Now to regain this pistoll, the one we impriloned, the other was sent to returne againe within 12 houres, or his brother to be hanged, yet the President pittying the poore naked Salvage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some charcole for fire; ere midnight his brother returned with the pistoll, but the poore Salvage in the dungeon was so smothered with the smoke he had made, and so pittiously burnt, that wee found him dead, the other most lamentably bewailed his death, and broke forth in such bitter agonies, that the Presidēt (to quiet him) told him that if hereafter they would not steal, he wold make him aliue againe, but little thought hee could be recovered, yet (we doing our best with aquavitæ & vineger) it pleased God to restore him againe to life, but so drunke and affrighted that he seemed lunaticke, not vnderstanding any thing hee spoke or heard, the which as much grieved and tormented the other, as before to see him dead; of which maladie (vpon promise of their good behaviour afterward) the President promised to recover him and so caused him to be laid by a fire to sleepe, who in the morning (having well slept) had recovered his perfect senses; and then being dressed of his burning, and each a peece of copper given them, they went away so well contented, that this was spread amongst all the Salvages for a miracle, that Captaine *Smith* could make a man aliue that is dead; these and many other such pretty accidents, so amazed and affrighted both *Powhatan* and all his people that from all parts with presents they desired peace,

returning many stolne things which wee neither demaunded nor thought of. And after that, those that were taken stealing (both *Powhatan* and his people) haue sent them backe to *James Towne* to receiue their punishment, and all the countrie became absolutely as free for vs, as for themselves.

CHAP. II.

What was done in three monthes hauing victuall The store deuoured by rats, how we liued 3 monthes of such naturall fruits as the countrie afforded.



OW wee so quietly followed our businesse, that in 3 monthes we made 3 or 4 last of pitch and tarre, and sope ashes, produced a triall of glasse, made a well in the forte of excellent sweete water (which till then was wanting) built some 20 houses, recouered our Church, provided nets and weares for fishing (& to stop the disorders of our disorderly theeues & the Salvages) built a blocke house in the necke of our Ile, kept by a garrison to entertaine the Salvages trade, & none to passe nor repasse, Salvage, nor Christian, without the Presidents order, 30 or 40 acres of ground we digged, and planted; of 3 sowes in one yeare increased 60 and od pigges, and neere 500 chickens brought vp themselves (without hauing any meate giuen them) but the hogges were transported to hog Ile, where al-

More done in 3 monthes then 3 yeares.

so we built a blocke house with a garrison, to giue vs notice of any shipping, and for their exercise they made clapbord, wainscot, and cut downe trees against the ships comming. We built also a fort for a retreat, neare a convenient river vpon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assaulted, and easie to be defended; but ere it was halfe finished this defect caused a stay; in searching our casked corne, wee found it halfe rotten, the rest so consumed with the many thousand rats (increased first from the ships) that we knewe not how to keepe that little wee had. This did driue vs all to our wits ende, for there was nothing in the countrie but what nature afforded. vntill this time *Keinps* and *Tasfore*, were fettered prisoners, and daily wrought, and taught vs how to order and plant our fields. Whome now (for want of victuall) we set at libertie, but so well were they vsed, that they little desired it; and to expresse their loues, for 16 daies continuance, the Countrie brought vs (when least) 100 a daie of squirrils, Turkies, Deare, and other wild beastes; but this want of corne occasioned the end of all our workes, it being worke sufficient to provide victuall. 60 or 80 with Ensigne *Laxon* were sent downe the river to liue vpon oysters, & 20 with leiftenant *Percie* to trie for fishing at point-comfort, but in 6 weekes, they would not agree once to cast out their net. *M^r West* with as many went vp to the falles, but nothing could bee found but a fewe berries and acornes; of that in the store every one had their equall proportion. Till this present (by the hazard and endeavour of some 30 or 40) this whole number had ever been fed. Wee had more Sturgeon then
could

*The pains of 40
fed 150.*

could be devoured by dogge and man; of which the industrious, by drying and powning, mingled with caviare, sorrel, and other wholesome hearbs, would make bread and good meate; others would gather as much *Tockwough* roots in a day, as would make them bread a weeke, so that of those wilde fruites, fish and berries, these lived very well, (in regard of such a diet) but such was the most strange condition of some 150, that had they not beene forced nolens volens perforce to gather and prepare their victuall they would all haue starved, and haue eaten one another: of those wild fruites the Salvages often brought vs: and for that the President would not fulfill the vnreasonable desire of those distracted lubberly gluttons, to sell, not only our kettles, howes, tooles, and Iron, nay swords, peeces, & the very ordenance, and houses, might they haue prevailed but to haue beene but idle, for those salvage fruits they would haue imparted all to the Salvages, especially for one basket of corne they heard of, to bee at *Powhatans*, 50 myles from our fort, though he bought neere halfe of it to satisfie their humours, yet to haue had the other halfe, they would haue sold their soules, Their desire to destroy themselves. (though not sufficient to haue kept them a weeke) thousands were their exclamations, suggestions, and devises, to force him to those bale inventions, to haue made it an occasion to abandon the Countrie. Want perforce constrained him to indure their exclaiming follies till he found out the author, one *Dyer*, a most craftie knaue, and his ancient maligner, whom he worthely punished, and with the rest he argued the case in this manner.

The proceedings and accidents

Fellow souldiers , I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many so simple to be perswaded, that I either intēd to starue you, or that *Powhatan* (at this present) hath corne for himselfe , much lesse for you; or that I would not haue it , if I knewe where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any so malicious as nowe I see a great many , yet it shall not so much passionate me, but I will doe my best for my worst maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from *Powhatan*, nor that I wil longer forbear to force you from your Idlenesse, and punish you if you raile, you cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life , many a time I haue saued yours , when, might your owne wils haue prevailed, you would haue starued , and will doe still whether I will or no. But I protest by that God that made me, since necessitie hath not power to force you to gather for your selus those fruits the earth doth yeeld, you shall not only gather for your selues, but for those that are sicke: as yet I never had more from the store then the worst of you; and all my English extraordinarie provision that I haue , you shall see mee deuide among the sick. And this Salvage trash , you so scornfully repine at, being put in your mouthes your stomacks can digest it , and therefore I will take a course you shall provide it. The sicke shal not starue , but equally share of all our labours , and every one that gathereth not every day as much as I doe , the next daie shall be set beyond the river, and for ever bee banished from the fort, and liue there or starue.

This order many murmured, was very cruell, but it caused the most part so well bestir themselues , that
of

200 men (except they were drowned) there died not past 7 or 8. As for Captaine *Win*, and *Mr Ley*, they died ere this want happened, and the rest died not for want of such as preferred the rest. many were killed among the Salvages, whereby we knewe all their passages, fieldes, and habitations, howe to gather and vse their fruits, as well as themselves.

But 7 of 200 died in 9. moneths

So well those poore Salvages used vs, (that were thus killed) as divers of the souldiers ran away, to search *Kemps* our old prisoner. Glad was this Salvage to haue such an occasion to testifie his loue. for instead of entertaining them, & such things as they had stolne with all the great offers and promises they made them, to revenge their iniuries vpon Captaine *Smith*, First he made himselfe sport, in shewing his countrymen (by them) how he was used; feeding them with this law who would not worke must not eat, till they were neere starved, continually threatning to beate them to death, neither could they get from him, till perforce he brought them to our Captaine, that so we contented him, and punished them: as manie others that intended also to haue followed them, were rather contented to labour at home, then adventure to liue Idle among the Salvages, (of whom there was more hope to make better christians and good subiects, then the one halfe of those that counterfeited themselves both.) For so afraid were all those kings and the better sorte of their people, to displease vs, that some of the baser sort that we haue extreame lie hurt and punished for their villanies, would hire vs, we should not tell it to their kings or countrymen, who would also repunish

The Salvages returne our seruities,

them, and yet returne them to Iames Towne to content the President, by that testimonie of their loues.

*Search for them
sent by Sir Walter
Rawley.*

Mr Sicklemore well returned from *chawonock*, but found little hope and lesse certaintie of them were left by *Sir Walter Rawley*. So that *Nathaniell Powell* & *Anas Todkill*, were also, by the *Quiyoughquohanocks*, conducted to the *Mangoages* to search thē there. But nothing could we learne but they were all dead, this honest, proper, good promis-keeping king, of all the rest did ever best affect vs, & though to his false Gods he was yet very zealous, yet he would confesse, our God as much exceeded his, as our guns did his bowe and arrowes, often sending our President manie presents to praie to his God for raine, or his corne would perish, for his Gods were angrie all this time to reclaime the Dutchmen, and one *Bentley* an other fugitive, we imploied one *Williã Volda* (a *Switzer* by birth) with pardons and promises to regaine them. Little we then suspected this double villanie, of anie villanie, who plainlie taught vs, in the most trust was the greatest treason. For this wicked hypocrit, by the seeming hate he bore to the lewd condition of his cursed countrimē, having this opportunitie by his imploiment to regaine them, conveighed them everie thing they desired to effect their proiect to destroie the colonie. With much devotion they expected the *Spanyard*, to whom they intended to haue done good service. But to begin with the first oportunitie, they seeing necessitie thus inforced vs to disperse our selues; importuned *Powhatan* to lend them but his forces, and they would not onlie destroie our hogs, fire our towne, and betray

*The Dutchmens
projects.*

traie our Pinnas; but bring to his service and subiecti-
on the most part of our companies. With this plot
they had acquainted manie discontentes and manie
were agreed to their diuelish practife. But on *Thomas*
Douese & *Thomas Mallard*, whose christian harts much
relenting at such an vnchristian act, voluntarily reuea-
led it to *Captaine Smith*: who did his best it might be
concealed, perswading *Douese* and *Mallard* to proceed
in the confederacie: onlie to bring the irreclamable
Dutch men, and inconstant Salvages in such a maner
amongst his ambuscadoes, as he had prepared, as not
manie of them shoulde ever haue returned from out
our peninsula. But this brute coming to the ears of the
impatient multitude, they so importuned the Presi-
dent to cut of those Dutchmen, as amongst manie
that offered to cut their throates before the face of
Powhatan. *Mr Wiffin* and *Iefra Abot* were sent to stab
or shoot them; but these Dutch men made such excu-
ses accusing *Volday* whom they supposed had reuealed
their proiect, as *Abbot* would not, yet *Wiffin* would,
perceiving it but deceit. The king vnderstanding of
this their imploiment, sent presentlie his messengers
to *Captaine Smith* to signifie it was not his fault to de-
taine them, nor hinder his men from executing his
command, nor did he nor would he maintaine them,
or anie to occasion his displeasure. But ere this busi-
nes was brought to a point, God having scene our mi-
sery sufficient, sent in *Captaine Argall* to fish for Stur-
gion with a ship well furnished with wine and bisket,
which though it was not sent vs, such were our occa-
sions we tooke it at a price, but left him sufficient to

Two gentlemen
sent to kill them

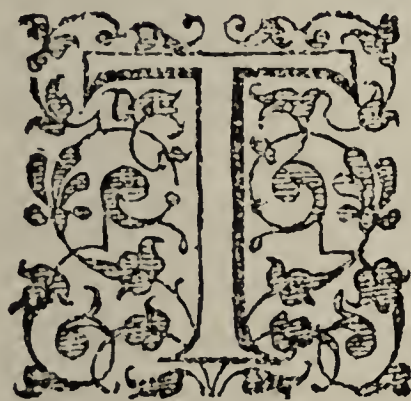
returne for England, still dissembling *Valdo* his villany, but certainlie hee had not escaped had the President continued.

Note these inconveniences,

By this you may see, for all those crosses, treacheries, and dissentions, how he wrastrled and overcame (without bloud shed) all that hapned. Also what good was done, how few died, what food the country naturally affordeth, what small cause there is men should starue, or be murdered by the Salvages, that haue discretion to manage this courage and industry. The 2. first years though by his adventures he had oft brought the Salvages to a tractable trade, yet you see how the envious authority ever crossed him, and frustrated his best endeavours. Yet this wrought in him that experience and estimation among the Salvages, as otherwise it had bin impossible he had ever effected that he did, though the many miserable yet generous and worthy adventures, he had long, & oft indured as well in some parts of *Africa*, and *America*, as in the most partes of *Europe* and *Asia* by land or sea had taught him much, yet in this case he was againe to learne his Lecture by experience. Which with thus much a doe having obtained, it was his ill chance to end, when hee had but onlie learned how to begin. And though hee left these vnknowne difficulties, (made easie and familiar) to his vnlawfull successors, whoe onlie by living in *James Towne*, presumed to know more then al the world could direct them though they had all his souldiers with their triple power, and twise triple better meanes, by what they haue done in his absence, the world doth see: and what they would haue done in his pre-

presence, had he not prevented their indiscretions: it doth iustlie approue what cause he had to send them for England. But they haue made it more plaine since their returne, having his absolute authoritie freely in their power, with all the advantages, and opportunity that his labours had effected. As I am sorry their actions haue made it so manifest, so I am vnwilling to say what reason doth compell me, to make apparant the truth, least I should seeme partial, reasonlesse, or malicious.

CHAP. 12.

The Arriual of the third supply.

O redresse those iarres & ill proceedings, the Councell in England altered the government: & devolved the authoritie to the Lord *De-la-ware*. Who for his deputie, sent *Sr Thomas Gales*, & *Sr George Somers*, with 9 ships & 500 persons. they set saile from England in May 1609 a smal catch perished at sea in a *Herycano*. The Admirall, with 150 men, with the two knights, & their new commission, their bills of loading with al manner of directions, and the most part of their provision arived not. With the other 7 (as Captaines) arived *Ratliffe*, *The losse of Virginia*, whose right name was *Sickelmore*, *Martin*, and *Archer*. Who as they had been troublesome at sea, beganne againe to marre all ashore. For though, as is said, they were formerly deposed & sent for England: yet now

returning againe, graced by the title of Captaines of the passengers, seeing the admirall wanting, and great probabilitie of her losse: strengthened themselves with those newe companies, so railing and exclaiming against Captaine *Smith*, that they mortally hated him, ere ever they see him. Who vnderstanding by his scouts, the arivall of such a fleet (little dreaming of any such supply) supposing them Spaniards, hee so determined and ordered his affaires, as wee little feared their arivall, nor the successe of our incoüter, nor were the Salvages any way negligent or vnwilling, to aide and assist vs with their best power, had it so beene, wee had beene happy. For we would not haue trusted them but as our foes, whereas receiving those as our countrymen and friends, they did their best to murder our President, to surprize the store, the fort, and our lodgings, to vsurp the government, and make vs all their servants, and slaues to our owne merit, to 1000 mischiefes those lewd Captaines led this lewd company, wherein were many vnruely gallants packed thether by their friends to escape il destinies, and those would dispose and determine of the government, sometimes one, the next day another, to day the old commission, to morrow the new, the next day by neither. In fine, they would rule all or ruine all; yet in charitie we must endure them thus to destroy vs, or by correcting their follies, haue brought the worlds censure vpon vs to haue beene guiltie of their bloods. Happy had we bin had they never arrived; and we for ever abandoned, & (as we were) left to our fortunes, for on earth was never more confusion, or miserie, then their factions occasioned.

*The Salvages of
fer to fight vn-
der o r colours.*

Mutinie .

The

with the third supply in Virginia.

95

*The planting
Nansamund.*

The President seeing the desire those braues had to rule, seeing how his authoritie was so vnexpectedly changed, would willingly haue left all and haue returned for England, but seeing there was small hope this newe commission would ariue, longer hee would not suffer those factious spirits to proceed. It would bee too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible, should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, & practises, hee daily escaped amongst this factious crue, the chiefe whereof he quickly laid by the heeles, til his leisure better served to doe them iustice; & to take away all occasions of further mischief, *Mr Persie* had his request granted to returne for England, & *Mr West* with 120 went to plant at the falles. *Martin* with neare as many to *Nansamund*, with their due proportions, of all provisions, according to their numbers.

*A plantation of
the falles.*

Now the Presidents yeare being neere expired, he made *Martin* President, who knowing his own insufficiencie, and the companies scorn, and conceit of his vnworthinesse, within 3 houres resigned it againe to *Captaine Smith*, and at *Nansamund* thus proceeded.

The people being contributors vsed him kindly: yet such was his iealous feare, and cowardize, in the midst of his mirth, hee did surprize this poore naked king, with his monuments, houses, and the Ile he inhabited; and there fortified himselfe, but so apparantly distracted with fear, as imboldned the Salvages to assault him, kill his men, redeeme their king, gather and carrie away more then 1000 bushels of corne, hee not once daring to intercept them. But sent to the President the 20 at the Falles for 30 good shotte, which from *James*

*The breach of
peace with the
Salvages.*

towne immediatly were sent him, but hee so well im-
ploid them, as they did iust nothing, but returned, com-
plaining of his childishnesse, that with them fled from
his company, and so left them to their fortunes.

*Powhatan sold
for copper.*

Mr West hauing seated his men at the Falles, pre-
sently returned to reuise *James Towne*, the President
met him by the way as he followed him to the falles:
where he found this company so inconsiderately sea-
ted, in a place not only subiect to the rivers inuasiō,
but round inuironed with many intollerable inconve-
niences. For remedy whereof, he sent presently to *Pow-
hatan*, to sell him the place called *Powhatan*, promising
to defend him against the *Monacans*, and these should
be his conditions (with his people) to resigne him the
fort and houses and all that cōtrie for a proportion
of copper: that all stealing offenders should bee sent
him, there to receiue their punishment: that every
house as a custome should pay him a bushell of come
for an inch square of copper, and a proportion of *Po-
cones* as a yearely tribute to King *James*, for their pro-
tection as a dutie: what else they could spare to barter
at their best discretion.

Mutines.

3 suppresses 120

But both this excellent place and those good con-
ditions did those furies refuse, contemning both him,
his kind care and authoritie. the worst they could to
shew their spite, they did. I doe more then wonder to
thinke how only with 5. men, he either durst, or would
adventure as he did, (knowing how greedy they were
of his blood) to land amongst them and commit to im-
prisonment the greatest spirits amongst them, till by
their multitudes being 120. they forced him to retire,
yet

yet in that retreat hee surpris'd one of the boates, wherewith hee returned to their shippe, wherein was their provisions, which also hee tooke. And well it chaunced hee found the marriners so tractable and constant, or there had beene small possibility he had ever escaped. Norwithstāding there were many of the best, I meane of the most worthy in Iudgement, reason or experience, that from their first landing hearing the generall good report of his old souldiers, and seeing with their eies his actions so wel managed with discretion, as Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Web*, Captaine *Mone*, Captaine *Phitz-James*, *M^r Partridge*, *M^r White*, *M^r Powell* and divers others. When they perceived the malice and condition of *Ratliffe*, *Martin*, and *Archer*, left their factions; and ever rested his faithfull friends: But the worst was, the poore Salvages that dailie brought in their contribution to the President, that disorderlie cōpany so tormented those poore naked soules, by stealing their corne, robbing their gardens, beating them, breaking their houses, & keeping some prisoners; that they dailie complained to Captaine *Smith* he had broughtithē for protectors worse enimies then the *Monocans* themselves; which though till then, (for his loue) they had indured: they desired pardon, if hereafter they defended themselves, since he would not correct them, as they had long expected he would: so much they importuned him to punish their misdemeanores, as they offered (if hee would conduct them) to fight for him against them. But having spent 9. daies in seeking to reclaime them, shewing them how much they did abuse themselves,

*The breach of
peace with the
Salvages at the
Falles.*

An assault by
the Salvages

The planting of
Nonsuch.

New peace con-
cluded.

with their great guilded hopes, of seas, mines, commodities, or victories they so madly conceived. Then (seeing nothing would prevaile with them) he set saile for *James Towne*: now no sooner was the ship vnder saile but the Salvages assaulted those 120 in their fort, finding some stragling abroad in the woods they slew manie, and so affrighted the rest, as their prisoners escaped, & they scarce retired, with the swords & cloaks of these they had slaine. But ere we had sailed a league our shippe grounding, gaue vs once more libertie to summon them to a parlie. Where we found them all so stranglie amazed with this poore simple assault, as they submitted themselues vpon anie tearmes to the Presidents mercie. Who presentlie put by the heeles 6 or 7 of the chiefe offenders, the rest he seated gallāt-lie at *Powhatan*, in their Salvage fort they built and prettie fortified with poles and barkes of trees sufficient to haue defended them from all their Salvages in *Virginia*, drie houses for lodgings 300 acres of grounde readie to plant, and no place so strong, so pleasant and delightful in *Virginia*, for which we called it *Nonsuch*. the Salvages also he presentlie appeased; redelivering to every one their former losses. Thus al were friends, new officers appointed to command, and the President againe readie to depart. But at that Instant arrived *Mr West*, whose good nature with the perswasions and compassion of those mutinous prisoners was so much abused, that to regaine their old hopes new turboiles arose. For the rest being possessed of al their victuall munition and everie thing, they grow to that height in their former factions, as there the President left

left them to their fortunes, they returning againe to the open aire at west fort, abandoning Nonsuch, and he to *James Towne* with his best expedition, but this hapned him in that Iournie.

Sleeping in his boat, (for the ship was returned 2 daies before,) accidentallie, one fired his powder bag, which tore his flesh from his bodie and thighes, 9. or 10. inches square in a most pittifull manner; but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloaths he leaped over bord into the deepe river, where ere they could recover him he was neere drown'd. In this estat, without either *Chirurgiō*, or chirurgery he was to go neare 100. miles. Ariving at *James Towne* causing all things to bee prepared for peace or warres to obtain provisiō, whilest those things were providing, *Martin, Ratliffe*, and *Archer*, being to haue their trials their guiltie cōsciēces fearing a iust reward for their deserts, seeing the President vnable to stand, & neere bereft of his senses by reason of his torment, they had plotted to haue murdered him in his bed. But his hart did faile him that should haue given fire to that mercileffe pistol. So, not finding that course to be the best they ioined together to vsurp the government, thereby to escape their punishment, and excuse themselves by accusing him. The President, had notice of their proiects: the which to withstand, though his old souldiers importuned him but permit thē to take of their heads that would resist his commaund, yet he would not permit them, But sent for the masters of the ships and tooke order with them for his returne for England. Seeing there was neither chirurgion, nor chirur-

*C Smith blowne
up with powder*

A bloody intent

*The governe-
ment vsurped.*

ge-

gery in the fort to cure his hurt , and the ships to depart the next daie, his commission to be suppressed he knew not why, himselfe and souldiers to be rewarded he knew not how , and a new commission graunted they knew not to whom, the which so disabled that authority he had, as made them presume so oft to those mutinies and factions as they did. Besides so grievous were his wounds, & so cruell his torment, few expected he could liue, nor was hee able to follow his businesse to regaine what they had lost, suppress those factions and range the countries for provision as he intended, and well he knew in those affaires his owne actions and presence was as requisit as his experience, and directions, which now could not be, he went presently aboard, resolving there to appoint them governours , and to take order for the mutiners and their confederates. Who seeing him gone, perswaded *Mr Persie* (to stay) and be their President , and within lesse then an howre was this mutation begun and concluded. For when the company vnderstood *Smith* would leaue them, & see the rest in Armes called Presidents and councellors, divers began to fawne on those new commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him resigne them his commission, who after many salt and bitter repulses, that their confusion should not be attributed to him for leaving the country without government and authority ; having taken order to bee free from danger of their malice ; he was not vnwilling they should steale it from him, but never consented to deliver it to any. But had that vnhappy blast not hapned, he would quickly haue quallified the heate of those

*The causes why
Smith left the
countrie & his
Commission.*

those humors and factions, had the ships but once left them and vs to our fortunes, and haue made that provision from among the Salvages, as we neither feared Spanyard, Salvage, nor famine: nor would haue left *Virginia*, nor our lawfull authoritie, but at as deare a price as we had bought it, and paid for it. What shall I say? but thus we lost him, that in all his proceedings, made Iustice his first guid, and experience his second; ever hating basenesse, sloth, pride, and indignitie, more then any dangers; that never allowed more for himselfe, then his souldiers with him; that vpon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himselfe; that would never see vs want what he either had, or could by any meanes get vs; that would rather want then borrow, or starue then not pay; that loved actions more then wordes, and hated falshood and coufnage worse then death: whose adventures were our liues, and whose losse our deaths. Leaving vs thus with 3 ships, 7 boates, commodities ready to trade, the harvest newly gathered, 10 weekes provision in the store, 490 and odde persons, 24 peeces of ordinances, 300 muskets snaphanches, and fire lockes, shot, powder, and match sufficient, curats, pikes, swords, and morryons more then men: the Salvages their language & habitations well knowne to 100 well trained and expert souldiers; nets for fishing, tooles of all sortes to worke, apparell to supply our wants, 6 mares and a horse, 5 or 600 swine, as many hens and chicken; some goates, some sheep, what was brought or bread there remained, but they regarded nothing but from hand to mouth, to consume that we had, tooke care for nothing

thing but to perfit some colourable cōplaints against Captaine *Smith*, for effecting whereof, 3 weekes longer they stayed the 6 ships til they could produce thē. that time and charge might much better haue beene spent, but it suted well with the rest of their discretions.

*Their cōplaints
and prooffe a-
gainst him.*

Now all those, *Smith* had either whipped, punished, or any way disgraced, had free power and liberty to say or swear any thing, and from a whole arnefull of their examinations this was concluded.

The mutiners at the Falles, complained hee caused the Salvages assault them, for that hee would not revenge their losse, they being but 120, and he 5 men and himselfe, and this they proved by the oath of one hee had oft whipped for periurie and pilfering. The dutchmen that he had appointed to bee stabd for their treacheries, swore he sent to poison them with rats baine. The prudent Councel, that he would not submit himselfe to their stolne authoritie. *Coe & Dyer*, that should haue murdered him, were highly preferred for swearing, they heard one say, he heard *Powhatan* say, that he heard a man say: if the king would not send that corne he had, he should not long enioy his copper crowne, nor those robes he had sent him: yet those also swore hee might haue had corne for tooles. It would not. The truth was, *Smith* had no such ingins as the king demanded, nor *Powhatan* any corne. Yet this argued he would starue them. Others complained hee would not let them rest in the fort (to starue) but forced thē to the oyster bankes, to liue or starue, as he liued himselfe. For though hee had of his owne private provisi-
ons

ons sent from England, sufficient; yet hee gaue it all away to the weake and sicke, causing the most vntoward (by doing as he did) to gather their food from the vnknowne parts of the rivers & woods, that they lived (though hardly) that otherwaies would haue starved, ere they would haue left their beds, or at most the sight of *James Towne* to haue got their own victuall. Some propheticall spirit calculated hee had the Salvages in such subiection, hee would haue made himselfe a king, by marrying *Pocahontas*, *Powhatans* daughter. It is true she was the very nonparell of his kingdome, & at most not past 13 or 14 yeares of age. Very oft shee came to our fort, with what shee could get for *Captaine Smith*, that ever loved and vsed all the Countrie well, but her especially he ever much respected: & she so well requited it, that when her father intended to haue surprized him, shee by stealth in the darke night came through the wild woods and told him of it. But her marriage could no way haue intituled him by any right to the kingdome, nor was it ever suspected hee had ever such a thought, or more regarded her, or any of them, the in honest reason, & discretion he might. If he would he might haue married her, or haue done what him listed. For there was none that could haue hindred his determination. Some that knewe not any thing to say, the Councel instructed, and advised what to sweare. So diligent they were in this businesse, that what any could remember, hee had ever done, or said in mirth, or passion, by some circumstantiall oath, it was applied to their fittest vse, yet not past 8 or 9 could say much and that nothing but circumstances, which

Pocahontas
Powhatans
daughter.

all men did knowe was most false and vnttrue. Many got their passes by promising in England to say much against him. I haue presumed to say this much in his behalfe for that I never heard such foule slaunders, so certainly beleeued, and vrged for truthes by many a hundred, that doe still not spare to spread them, say them and sweare them, th at I thinke doe scarce know him though they meet him, nor haue they ether cause or reason, but their wills, or zeale to rumor or opinion. For the honorable and better sort of our Virgini-an adventurers I think they vnderstād it as I haue writ it. For instead of accusing him, I haue never heard any giue him a better report, then many of those witnesses themselues that were sent only home to testifie against him. *Richard Potts, VV.P.*

*The planting at
point comfort.*

When the ships departed *C. Davis* arived in a smal Pinnace with some 16 proper men more, to those were added a company from *James Towne* vnder the command of Captaine *Ratliffe* to inhabit *Point-comfort*. *Martin* and *Mr West* hauing lost their boates, and neere halfe their men amongst the Salvages, were returned to *James Towne*, for the Salvages no sooner vnderstood of Captaine *Smiths* losse, but they all revolted, and did murder & spoile all they could incounter. Now were we all constrained to liue only of that which *Smith* had only for his owne company, for the rest had consumed their proportions. And now haue we 20 Presidents with all their appurtenances, for *Mr Persie* was so sicke he could not goe nor stand. But ere all was consumed, *M. west* and *Ratliffe* each with a pinnace, and 30 or 40 men wel appointed, sought abroad

to trade, how they carried the businesse I knowe not, but *Ratliffe* and his men were most flaine by *Powhatan*, those that escaped returned neare starved in the *Pinnace*. And *Mr west* finding little better successe, set saile for England. Now wee all found the want of Captaine *Smith*, yea his greatest maligners could then curse his losse. Now for corne, provision, and contribution from the Salvages; wee had nothing but morall wounds with clubs and arrowes, As for our hogs, hens, goats, sheep, horse, or what lived, our commanders and officers did daily consume them, some small proportions (sometimes) we tasted till all was devoured, then swords, arrowes, peeces, or any thing we traded to the Salvages, whose bloody fingers were so imbrued in our bloods, that what by their crueltie, our Governours indiscreation, and the losse of our ships; Of 500, within 6 monthes after there remained not many more then 60. most miserable and poore creatures. It were to vild to say what we endured; but the occasion was only our owne, for want of providence, industrie, and government, and not the barrenesse and defect of the countrie, as is generally supposed, for till then in 3 yeares (for the numbers were landed vs) we had never landed sufficient provision for 6 months such a glutton is the sea, and such good fellowes the marriners, wee as little tasted of those great proportions for their provisions, as they of our miseries, that notwithstanding ever swaid and overruled the businesse: though we did live as is said, 3 yeares chiefly of what this good countrie naturally affordeth: yet now had we beene in Paradise it selfe (with those gover-

Ratliffe slain by Powhatan.

The fruits of their p ovidences.

nours)it would not haue beene much better with vs, yet was there some amongst vs , who had they had the governement, would surely haue kept vs frō those extremities of miseries, that in 10 daies more would haue supplanted vs all by death.

*The arrivall of
St Tho. Gates
with 150.*

But God that would not it should bee vnplanted, sent Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Sommers*, with a 150 men, most happily preserved by the *Berondoes* to preserve vs. strange it is to say how miraculously they were preserved, in a leaking ship, in those extreame stormes and tempests in such overgrowne seas 3 daies and 3 nights by bapling out water. And having givē themselus to death, how happily when least expected that worthy Captaine Sir *George Somers*, having line all that time cuning the ship before those sawlowing waues, discovered those broken Iles, where how plentifully they lived with fish & flesh, what a paradise this is to inhabit, what industrie they vsed to build their 2 ships, how happily they did transport them to James Towne in *Virginia*, I refer you to their owne printed relations.

*James Towne
abandoned.*

But when those noble knights did see our miseries (being strangers in the country) and could vnderstand no more of the cause but by their coniecture, of our clamors and complaints, of accusing or excusing one an other, they imbarcked vs with themselues, with the best means they could, and abandoning *James Towne* set saile for England.

*The arrival of
the Lo. d La-
ware.*

But yet God would not so haue it, for ere wee left the river; we met the *Lord de-la-ware*, then governour for the coutrie, with 3 ships exceeding well furnished with

with all necessaries fitting, who againe returned them to the abandoned *James Towne*, the 9. of *June*, 1610. accompanied with *Sir Ferdinando Wainman*, and divers other gentlemen of sort. *Sir George Somers*, and *Captaine Argall* he presentlie dispatcheth to require the *Bermundas* to furnish them with provision: *Sir Thomas Gates* for England to helpe forward their supplies: himselfe neglected not the best was in his power for the furtherance of the busines and regaining what was lost. But evē in the beginning of his proceedings, his Lordsh: had such an incounter with a feurvy sicknesse, that made him vnable to weld the state of his body, much lesse the affaires of the colonie, so that after 8. monthes sicknesse, he was forced to saue his life by his returne for England.

In this time *Argall* not finding the *Bermundas*, ha-^{2 Ships sent to} ving lost *Sir George Somers* at sea, fell on the coast of ^{the Bermundas} *Sagadahock*, where refreshing himselfe, found a convenient fishing for Cod. With a tast whereof hee returned to *James towne*, from whence the Lord *De-laware* sent him to trade in the river of *Patawomecke*, where finding an English boy those people had preserved from the furie of *Powhatan*, by his acquaintāce had such good vsage of those kind Salvages, that they fraughted his ship with corne, wherewith he returned to *James Towne*, and so for England with the Lord governour, yet before his returne, the adventurers had sent *Sr Tho. Dale* with 3 ships, men and cattell, and all^{The arival of Sr} other provisions necessarie for a yeare, all which arived ^{Tho Dale.} the 10 of *May*, 1611.

Againe, to second him with all possible expedition there

there was prepared for Sr *Tho Gates*, 6 tale ships with 300 men, and 100 kyne, with other cattel, with munition and all manner of provision could bee thought needfull, and they arived about the 1 of August next after safely at *James towne*.

Sr *George Somers* arrivall at the *Bermondas* and dieth.

Sr *George Somers* all this time was supposed lost: but thus it hapned, missing the *Bermondas*, hee fell also as did *Argall* with *Sagadahock*, where being refreshed, would not content himselfe with that repulse, but returned againe in the search; and there safely arived. But overtoiling himselfe on a surfeit died. And in this Cedar ship built by his owne directions, and partly with his owne hands, that had not in her any iron but only one bolt in her keele, yet well endured thus tossed to and againe in this mightie Ocean, til with his dead bo-she arived in England at line, & at *Whitchurch* in Dorsetshire, his body by his friends was honourably buried, with many volies of shot, and the rights of a souldier. And vpon his Tombe was bestowed this Epitaph

his Epitaph. ▣

*Hei mihi Virginia, quod tam cito præterit æstas,
Autumnus sequitur, sæuiet inde & hyems.
At ver perpetuum nascetur, & Anglia læta
Decerpit flores, Floryda terra tuos.*

Alas *Virginia* Somer so soone past
Autume succeeds and stormy winters blast,
Yet Englands ioyfull spring with Aprill shewres,
O *Floryda*, shall bring thy sweetest flowers.

Since

Since there was a ship fraughted with provision, and 40 men, and another since then with the like number and provision to stay in the Countrie 12 months with Captaine *Argall*.

The Lord governour himselfe doth confidently determine to goe with the next, or as presently as hee may in his owne person, with sundry other knights & gentlemen, with ships & men so farre as their meanes will extend to furnish: as for all their particular actions since the returne of Captaine *Smith*, for that they haue beene printed from time to time, and published to the world, I cease farther to trouble you with any repetition of things so well knowne, more then are necessarie. To conclude the historie, leauing this assurance to all posteritie, howe vnprosperously things may succeed, by what changes or chances soever, The action is honorable and worthie to bee approved, the defect whereof hath only beene in the managing the businesse; which I hope now experience hath taught them to amend, or those examples may make others to beware, for the land is as good as this booke doth report it.

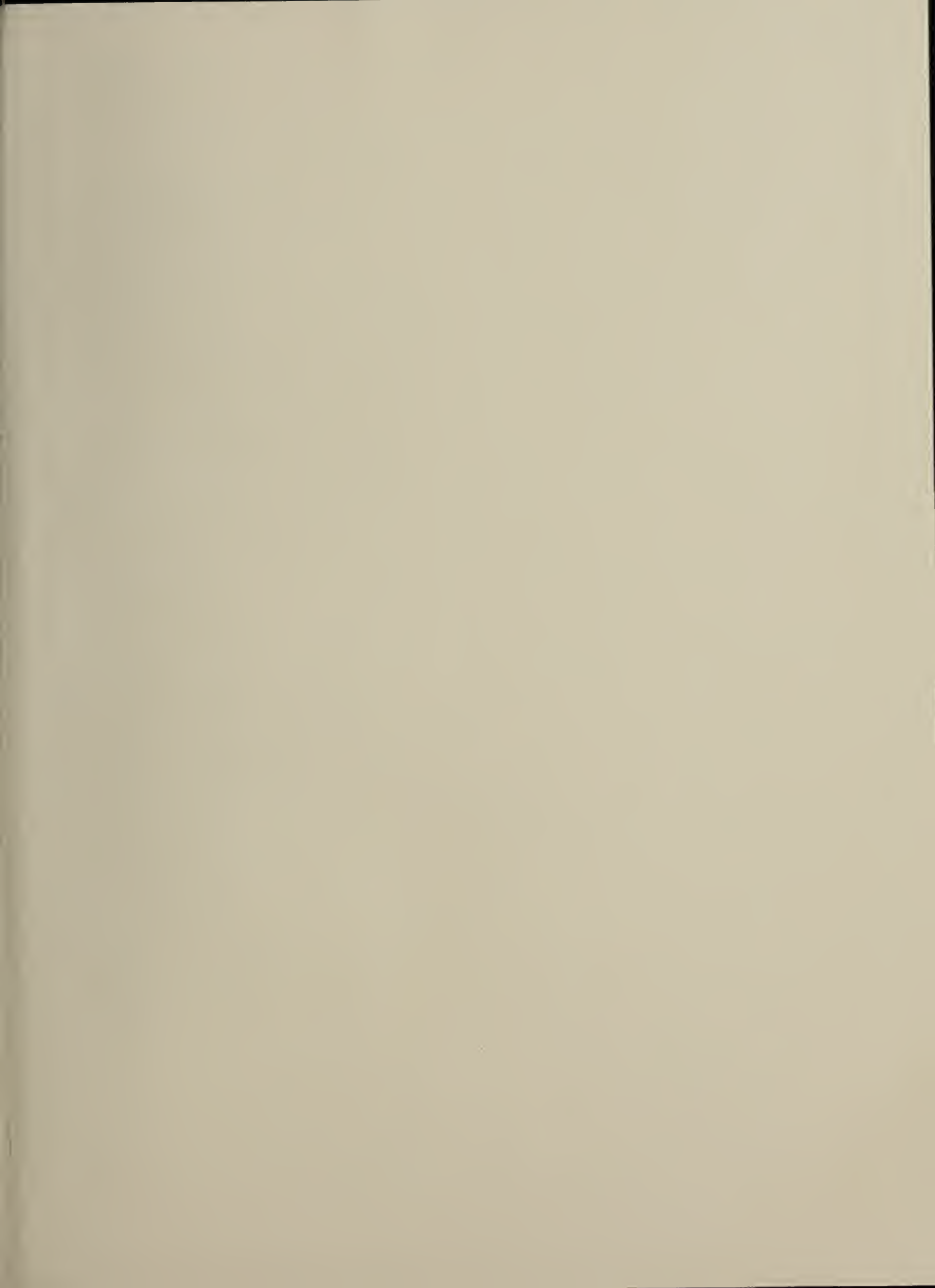
FINIS.

CAptaine *Smith* I returne you the fruit of my labours, as *Mr Crossham* requested me, which I bestowed in reading the discourses, & hearing the relations of such which haue walked, & observed the land of *Virginia* with you. The pains I took was great: yet did the nature of the argument, and hopes I conceaued of the expedition, giue me exceeding content. I cannot finde there is any thing, but what they all affirme, or cannot contradict: the land is good; as there is no citties, so no sonnes of *Anak*: al is open for labor of a good and wise inhabitant: and my prayer shall ever be, that so faire a land, may bee inhabited by those that professe and loue the Gospell.

Your friend

W. S.





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